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THE SOUTHERN CONVENTION.

THE ADDRESSES.

THE BORDER-STATE DOCUMENT.

We print the most effective passages of this address, adopted by the Southern Convention on the fourth day, under the dictation of the Border-State men. After an eloquent and very forcible opening, recognizing the community of interests and the necessity of mutual support between all classes of loyalists throughout the country, appealing to the people of the North for their active support, and indicting Andrew Johnson by an enumeration of his crimes after the manner of the Declaration of Independence—the address thus sums up the results of the rebel restoration which Congress has allowed the President to initiate:

"That in every State south of Mason and Dixon's line his policy has wrought the most deplorable consequences—social, moral and political. It has emboldened returned rebels to threaten civil war in Maryland, Missouri, West Virginia and Tennessee unless the patriots who saved and sealed these States to the old flag surrender before their arrogant demands. It has corrupted high State officials, elected by Union men, and sworn to enforce the law against returned rebels, and made them the mere instruments of the author of the rebellion. It has encouraged a new alienation between the sections, and by impeding emigration to the South has erected a formidable barrier against free and friendly intercourse in the North and West. It has allowed the rebel soldiers to persecute the teachers of the colored schools, and to burn the churches in which the freedmen have worshipped the living God. That a system so barbarous should have culminated in the frightful riot at Memphis, and the still more appalling massacre at New Orleans was as natural as that a bloody war should flow from the teachings of John C. Calhoun and Jefferson Davis. Andrew Johnson is responsible for all these unspeakable cruelties, and as he provoked so he justifies and applauds them."

After dilating on the New Orleans massacre and the President's guilt in that matter, the address utters this arraignment of the Slave Power:

"Oligarchy matured its power with subtle design. Its history for 60 years is replete with unparalleled injuries and usurpations; it developed only the agricultural localities, geographically distinct from the free-labor localities, and less than one-third of the whole, with African slaves. It held 4,000,000 of human beings as chattels, yet made them the basis of unjust power for themselves in Federal and State governments. To maintain their enslavement, it excluded millions of free white laborers from the richest agricultural lands of the world, forced them to remain inactive and unproductive on the mineral, manufacturing and lumber localities, comprising two-thirds of the whole South in square miles and real undeveloped wealth, simply because the localities were agriculturally too poor for slave labor, and condemning them to agriculture on this unagricultural territory, and consigned them to unwilling ignorance and poverty by denying capital and strangling enterprise. It repelled the capital, energy, will and skill of the free States from the free-labor localities, by unmitigated intolerance and proscription—thus guarding the approaches to their slave domain against democracy. Statute books groaned under despotic laws against unlawful and insurrectionary assemblies, aimed at the constitutional guaranties of the right to peaceably assemble and petition for a redress of grievances. It proscribed democratic literature as incendiary, nullified constitutional guaranties of freedom and free speech and a free press. It deprived citizens of the other States of their privileges and immunities in the States—an injury and usurpation, alike unjust to Northern citizens and destructive of the best interests of the States themselves. Alarmed at the progress of democracy in the face of every discouragement, at last it sought immunity by secession and war."

It thus describes the new rebel reign:

"They lost. What did they lose? The cause of oligarchy? They lost African slavery by name only. Soon as the tocsin of war ceased, soon as the clash of arms was hushed, they raise the cry of immediate admission, and with that watchword seek to organize under new forms a contest to perpetuate their unbridled sway. They rehabilitate with their sweeping control of all local and State organizations. The Federal Executive, easily seduced, yields a willing obedience to his old masters; aided by his unscrupulous disregard of Constitution and laws, by his merciless proscription of true democratic opinion, and by all his appliances of despotic power, they now defiantly enter the lists in the loyal North, and seek to wring from freemen an indorsement of their wicked designs. Every foul agency is at work to accomplish this result. Falsely professing to assent to the abolition of slavery, they are contriving to continue its detestable power by legislative acts against pretended vagrants; they know that any form of servitude will answer their unholy purpose. They pronounce the four years' war a brilliant sword scene in the great revolutionary drama. Proscriptive public sentiment holds high carnival, and, profiting by the example of the Presidential pilgrim, breathes out threatenings of slaughter against loyalty, ignores and denounces all legal restraints, and assails, with the tongue of malignant slander, the constitutionally-chosen representatives of the people. To still the voice of liberty, dangerous alone to tyrants, midnight conflagrations, assassinations and murders in open day are called to their aid; a reign of terror through all these ten States makes loyalty stand silent in the presence of treason, or whisper in hated breath."

And loudly proclaims a valiant purpose:

"But all Southern men are not yet awed into submission to treason, and we have assembled from all these States determined that liberty when endangered shall find a mouth-piece, and that the government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth. We are here to consult together how best to provide for a union of truly Republican States, to seek to resume 36 stars on the old flag. We are here to see that 10 of these stars, opaque bodies paling their ineffectual fires beneath the gloom of darkness, of oligarchical tyranny and oppression. We wish them to be brilliant stars, emblems of constitutional liberty, glittering orbs sparkling with the life-giving principles of the model republic, fitting ornaments of the glorious banner of freedom.

For the realization of which they can do no more than put their

"last and only hope in the unity and fortitude of the loyal people of America in the support and vindication of the XXXIXth Congress and the election of a controlling Union majority in the succeeding or XLth Congress. While the new article amending the National Constitution offers the most liberal conditions to the authors of the rebellion, and does not come up to the measure of our expectations, we believe its ratification would be the commencement of a complete and lasting protection to all our people; and, therefore, we accept it as the best present remedy, and appeal to our brothers and friends in the North and the West to make it their watchword in the coming elections."

While "those in bonds" are, at the close, "remembered" to just this extent:

"Our confidence in the overruling providence of God prompts the prediction and intensifies the belief that when this warning is sufficiently taught to these misguided and reckless men, the liberated millions of the rebellious South will be proffered those rights and franchises which may be necessary to adjust and settle this mighty controversy in the spirit of the most enlarged and Christian philanthropy."

THE TRUE SOUTHERN DOCUMENT.

The address of the delegates from "the non-reconstructed States," adopted on the fifth day of the Convention, and embodying the views of the "fire-tried loyalists" of the rebel section, is a longer and less wordily eloquent document than the above; but it presents several very valuable elements of argument, and is eloquent in its plain recital of truth and its firm demand for justice. It opens with a review of the rebellion, its causes and consequences, in which the issue that presented itself at the close of the war is thus expressed:

"Should the people of the South, under the influence and guidance of the loyal men, return to the ancient traditions of their fathers and reorganize loyal society in the interest of American nationality and republican liberty, or should they, under the guidance and influence of the traitors who but lately ruled over them, be confirmed in the prejudices and traditions of disunion?"

The result of one day's rule of a traitor President is portrayed in these words:

"Their [the rebels] fears were relieved, and their depression turned to the feeling of exultation and triumph when the North Carolina proclamation developed the President's policy. From that hour the question, 'What will the government do with us?' was no longer asked, but they at once began to deliberate what they would do with the government. The anxious question of patriots as to who should guide the work of loyal reconstruction was answered also. The question with them, uttered with whispering lips and beating hearts, was, 'What will the disunionists do with us?'"

While the result of one year's rule of a resurrected traitor-conspiracy is stated in a simple enumeration of facts:

"The Legislatures vent their indignation on the colored people by the enactment of what are kindly termed 'labor laws,' which as absolutely maintain slavery, with the exception of buying and selling the people, as the previous enactments for that purpose. As an instance, the laws passed by some of our Legislatures provide that all persons engaged in agricultural pursuits as laborers shall be required during the first ten days of the month of January of each year to make contracts for the ensuing year, and in case of failure such laborer shall be arrested by the civil authorities and hired out; and however much the laborer may be dissatisfied, he dare not leave under the penalty of being apprehended and forced to labor upon the public works, without compensation, until he will consent to return to his employer. It is punished with fine and imprisonment to entice or persuade away, feed, harbor or secrete any such laborer. In this way they are compelled to contract within a limit of ten days, punished by legal enslavement for violating a simple contract, and prevented from obtaining shelter, food or employment. By severest penalties he has been made *a serf in the name of freedom*, and suffers all the evils of the institution of slavery, without receiving that care, which the master, from a sense of his own interest would give to his bondmen. * *

"The laws passed in the days of slavery for its protection are enforced with the same exactness to-day as ten years ago. Citizens have been arrested on the charge of having told negroes that they were rightfully entitled to vote; thrown into prison, retained for months, tried by a judge, without a jury, refused time to send for witnesses or counsel, convicted and sentenced to punishment in the Penitentiary. There is no redress of any grievances or atrocities perpetrated upon Union men, or deserters from the rebel armies during the war. * *

"In all actions where cause occurred during the war there is plenty of law against the Union man, but none for him. In causes occurring at the present time the fierce hatred of the men who were right, while disunionists were wrong, is sufficient to prevent them passing the triple guard with which treason has surrounded her temple of injustice, viz., disloyal magistrates, disloyal grand juries, disloyal petit juries, to say nothing of the disloyal agencies of government. Union men are ostracised and prescribed socially in most parts of the South. Soldiers of the Union army are compelled in many places to discard the blue which they have worn with honor in order to protect themselves from insult and violence. Ministers of the Gospel are silenced and excommunicated from the churches on account of their constant and steadfast loyalty to the republic * * The Union man is discarded and abjured. He has to look forward to a life of continual persecution for himself and serfdom for his children. The free North offers the only refuge. Without protection for the present and future, there is no hope but in exile."

And the machinery of the reorganized rebellion is thus described:

"During the continuance of the war, rebels feared that punishment would be meted out to them for the wrong done to Union men should they fail in their object. This fear was a protection, especially during 1863 and 1864. Now, even this guaranty is taken away; for our persecutors are the vicegerents of the national power at the South. * * Disloyal men have military associations which are known in Virginia as the Legion of Honor—in South Carolina and in Louisiana as relief societies—all of them composed of Confederate soldiers, and presided over and controlled by their former leaders and chieftains, and used for the purpose of fostering the animus of resistance to our government and keeping alive the hope of Southern independence. Their object is to monopolize all places of trust and power, preserve the exclusiveness of the South, and at the proper time, when some hoped-for feud may divide the people of the North, she will again throw her sword in the scale and achieve her long-cherished disunion purpose."

The bloody deeds of New Orleans are narrated at length and with convincing precision, and this deduction is drawn from them:

"And from the brutal manner in which over four hundred Union men were killed and wounded, from the fact that not one single policeman or participant in the murderous affair has been arrested, from the fact that the same man whose hands are yet red with the blood of the patriot soldiers of the republic, and crimsoned anew in that of the martyrs of the 30th of July, are still retained in office and power in that city, it is clear that there is no security for the lives, the liberty or property of loyal citizens."

While the President's guilt is fastened on him in this manner:

"It might have been urged at first with some show of plausibility, in the President's defence, that he was misinformed as to the real status of the Convention and the actual facts of its bloody dispersion, but after weeks have elapsed, after Gen. Sheridan's full report, characterizing the so-called riot as a 'premeditated massacre;' after the report of the Military Commission appointed by Gen. Baird to investigate the affair; after the exodus of so many well-known Unionists of Louisiana, on account of the total want of government protection, this plea can no longer be urged; and when it is moreover remembered that not a single arrest of the guilty parties has been made, and that the same pardoned, perjured Mayor, with his murderous rebel police, has been permitted to continue the exercise of the power he has so grossly abused, can it be claimed, even by the most credulous or the most charitable, that the President is not responsible for the bloodshed of that day?"

The wrongs of the present and the greater dangers of the future are then discussed:

"But why continue the recital of this horrible record? We have before us evidence from every portion of the South proving the extent and increasing violence of the spirit of intolerance and persecution above set forth. This Committee is in possession of information that Union men dare not attend this Convention, for fear of violence upon their return. Gentlemen of this Convention have, since in this city here, received notices warning them not to return home. We have omitted the relation of acts of ferocity and barbarism too horrible to relate, and the recital of which would scarcely be credited by a humane and civilized people. We submit to the impartial judgment of the American people, if these State governments, thus ruled by a disunion oligarchy and based on the political disfranchisement of 3,000,000 of colored citizens, and the social disfranchisement of the entire loyal white citizens, are republican in form. Of doubtful legal existence, they are undoubtedly despotic, and despotic in the interest of treason, as we of the South know but too well. This view of the condition of the South before the war, and of the events which have transpired since, brings us to the consideration of the confirmed, consolidated, intolerant and defiant power of disunion which now controls every department of the non-reconstructed States.

"All of the restraining influences in favor of the Union existing before the war, have perished from the land, save the public light kept alive by the loyalists. The armed efforts to overthrow the government having been treated simply as an unsuccessful but heroic act, the leaders of the rebellion stand justified in the eyes of their own people. This is the basis of their moral justification. They possess the lands of the South, through the favoritism of the military despotism enthroned at Richmond. During the war they absorbed by contracts and speculation the wealth of our section. They have been confirmed in the possession of this ill-gotten wealth by the pardoning power of the Executive, by the provisions of the National Bank act, requiring local residences for Directors; they possess control of the entire financial power of the States, where, with the lands, the cotton, the tobacco, and railroad wealth, and wielding the banking influence of the country, and speaking by authority of the President as the supporters of his dynasty and administration policy, they *dominate* with an absolute power. If a conflict of arms for the gratification of sectional and party hatred could be, as we have seen, precipitated, notwithstanding, by the restraining influences which existed previous to the late war, what guarantee have we against a repetition of the bloody experiment in politics, now that the entire South is more intensely sectionalized than ever, overawed by the fearful array of power which surrounds them? Abandoned by the President and impoverished by the ruthless rule which has so long oppressed them, how can the Union men of the South hope unaided to maintain their ground?

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"The hope of wielding the united Southern vote in the next Presidential election has already corrupted the fountains of national justice at the Capital. An open and shameless coalition has been formed, which needs only for its consummation the success of the President's policy. Into that coalition have already been drawn, by one influence or another, men heretofore identified with the dearest affection of the American people. Thus the work of political corruption will go on; the South, compact, defiant, and sectionalized, with its anti-republican institutions, resting on negro serfdom as the corner-stone; the North, torn by faction and distracted by the ambition of aspiring politicians and contending parties. This conflict of sections will progress, transferred from the battle-field to the halls of the National Legislature.

"The spirit of disunion will seek to gain by the ballot what it failed to achieve by the sword; the second open-armed attempt at separation will be simply a question of time and favorable opportunity."

And the sole remedy is finally proposed in these true words:

"There is but one way to destroy this principle of sectionalism in the South; it is by overturning the corner-stone on which it rests. This work cannot be left to the voluntary act of the disunion class, because their aristocratic, anti-American instincts will find their natural gratification in this secondary form of slavery. If the question of emancipation had been left to the voluntary action of these States, does any one suppose they would have adopted the Constitutional Amendment? Would their chosen representatives have voted in Congress for the Civil Rights bill? Can we look to a landed oligarchy for measures of liberation for the people? Fellow-countrymen, it is our duty to tell you that nothing can be expected from the disunion element in the interest of freedom, right, or union. We are driven to make this declaration after having exhausted every means to induce these desperate men to do justice. We are forced to this conclusion by that blind and intolerant spirit which had abused the magnanimity of the nation, and returned all our deeds and words of charity and forgiveness with ingratitude and persecution.

"The time has come when the States of the South must be governed by those who love the Union and glory in its fame, or by those who hate it. There can be no middle ground. Our enemies and yours would not permit us to occupy middle ground, if we desired to do so. They claim to rule. They claim to rule over us by virtue of their treason. They claim to degrade, debase and proscribe us because of our patriotism. Acting in conjunction with the noble and generous spirit of Christian charity, under which the North was willing to receive back those who had wronged us, the Union men of the South met their neighbors and friends and kindred, willing to forgive and forget the past. We declare that all our efforts, as well as those of the government, have been met with hypocrisy or ingratitude. In making this final appeal to the country, we declare the disunion leaders of the South are again the deliberate, wanton aggressors. They offer, as a pretext for our persecution, that the representatives of the American people in Congress have proposed, in a spirit of injustice and proscription, to afflict the South with mere partisan legislation.

"Speaking here to-day, in the name of the loyalists of the South, we affirm that Congress, to avoid discord and conflict, has actually abstained from doing much which it ought to have done and possesses the power to do. We affirm that the loyalists of the South look to Congress with affectionate gratitude and confidence as the only means to save us from persecution, exile, and death itself, and we also declare that there can be no security for us or our children; *there can be no safety for the country against the fell spirit of slavery, now organized in the form of serfdom, unless the government, by national and appropriate legislation enforced by national authority, shall confer on every citizen in the States we represent the American birthright of impartial suffrage and equality before the law.* This is the one all-sufficient remedy. This is our great need and pressing necessity. This is the only policy which will destroy sectionalism by bringing into effective power a preponderating force on the side of loyalty. It will lead to an enduring pacification, because based on the eternal principles of justice. It is a policy which will finally regenerate the South itself, because it will introduce and establish there a divine principle of moral politics which, under God's blessing, will, in elevating humanity, absorb and purify the unchristian hate and selfish passions of men. It will bless those who give as well as those who receive. It will be the crowning act of glory to our free republic, and when done will be received, as was the act of Emancipation, with joy and praise throughout the world as the final realization of the promises of the Declaration of American Independence.

GOOD WORDS.

SPEECH OF COL. C. E. MOSS, OF MISSOURI.

On the third day of the Southern Loyalist Convention, Col. Moss, after offering this resolution,

"Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention the plan of the reconstruction of the rebellious States proposed by Congress, is defective in not providing for the enfranchisement of all loyal citizens (applause), and that we most urgently request Congress at its next session to remedy the defect by suitable measures of legislation,"

which was referred to the committee (that is, practically, rejected), offered another:

"Resolved, That the Committee on Resolutions be instructed to prepare and report a resolution favoring the conferring of the rights of suffrage on all citizens without regard to race or color,"

in support of which he spoke as follows:

"Mr. Chairman: It does seem to me that we have arrived at that stage in the history of our country when we should rise above all prejudices, and that we should carry out in full that noble policy which was inaugurated by the lamented Lincoln. The war just concluded, effectually blotted out slavery from our institutions, and it now lies with us to remove every vestige from the States after destroying it. It is with that idea, in order that we can place ourselves right and found our institutions upon justice and upon those principles which were laid down in the glorious Declaration adopted in this city in 1776, that I have offered this resolution. The enforcement of these laws of eternal justice will protect every loyal man, be he white or black, and the life of the nation depends to-day upon Congress conferring the right of citizenship upon all loyal men. It is for us, sir, to say whether or not by a majority of votes this justice should be decreed to them.

"We are to labor in the rehabiliment and reconstruction of States so as to render them proper for admission to the United States Congress. We must endeavor to send men to Washington, not of the character of the man who became President, but of the loyal men who are now sitting in council. I assert here to-day that no State is ready for full power and immunity in the American Union, where 5,000, 10,000 or 15,000 voters are in a situation to rule three times their number, where they can exercise with impunity the lowest passions in the human breast upon the consecrated heads of loyal men. The terrible blunders in the reconstruction of the States for the past years, should teach us that fear is to be entertained from that power which now prevails in the South. But with suffrage extended to the freedmen of the South, they can preserve the liberties of the white man as well as their own. I take it that we are not prepared to stand here to-day and say we are going to indorse the legality of Andrew Johnson's provisional governments in the States. But, I am sure, if Congress does its duty next Winter, they can provide laws by which provisional governments can be formed and by which those men who contributed their strength in restoring the Union shall be enfranchised, and be permitted to vote, and elect members to their conventions. They will assemble and adopt a Constitution, elect a Legislature, and instead of being compelled to trust to a two-thirds majority in the North, 50 or 80 Representatives will be sent up from the South, sterling men who are true as steel, and 20 Senators, to swell the Republican strength. Ask those men who are anxious to preserve power in the government, if that is not the true policy. We should say to our Northern friends that there shall be no reconstruction until that principle is adopted. They are determined now, that the eternal rules of justice shall prevail in all the States, and that the people of the South shall be placed in a condition in which they can be trusted.

"We do not come come up here with the idea that admission into the Congress is the first great step to be taken, and a thing to be looked to above all other things. The loyal men of the South, it must be remembered, were driven from their homes, their lives were in peril, they cannot now live there, they have a tyrannical government. They are in the midst of men entertaining a devilish hate and fiendish malice toward them, who would grind them down to degradation, banish them from society and exclude them from all political power. It they succeed in their purposes, the loyal men will be compelled to leave their homes and seek shelter in other States. Let us by all means not fail to do our duty in this matter. Let us view the subject in all its bearings, and present it earnestly, forcibly, and candidly before the people of the country. Thus may we be enabled to accomplish a great and lasting good. This is what we came here for. It was clearly set forth in the call as our only remedy, and as the salvation of the people. I am yet to find a loyal man from those States who has not declared time and again that that is their only salvation.

"Now let us look at this in another point of view. I am an American citizen, and I love this government as firmly as any man can love it. I love its freedom, and I feel that it is guilty of injustice if it stains its fair fame and honor, and we will all have to pay the direful penalty. We see that a terrible trial visited this country, and that 300,000 black men were induced to present their bodies as a part of the bulwark to our liberties. They poured out their blood in the contest. They manifested a patriotism as lofty and unselfish as can be conceived; and when we consider that the white man has enjoyed all the immunities and the full protection of the government, that they enjoyed all the favored blessings it could bestow, the blacks seem to rise higher in the scale of patriots. For many years they have been under the heel of a master, and kept in a state of servitude, with the officers of the law pursuing and hunting them down, and dragging them back into slavery. All the acquaintance they had with the government was in feeling its power to restrain them in that state. But when the contest came, they rallied around the flag, they guided the lost soldier from the swamp, and assisted him in escaping from the prisons of the South. They have fed our men in the hour of hunger, and displayed in a thousand ways the purest of patriotism. Is it now to be permitted that these men, so true in a contest so bitter, shall be trampled upon and cruelly treated by the enemies of our Union, while we can interpose the ægis of justice? If this is neglected we will be guilty of a foul injustice that we ought to be ashamed of.

"I want to know if our friends here are not prepared to throw off a little bit of prejudice, if they have any? I know many of them have an idea that there may be some terrible consequences to result from this bugbear of negro suffrage that they talk about. I stand up here as a representative of the white race, and say that I believe we are their superiors. I do not believe they can hurt us, and the idea that we should have laws placed upon our statute-books saying that they shall not make an equal race in life with us, I say is ridiculous and an insult to the white people.

"The negro's instincts have been a great deal better than the white man's. Why, sir, I cannot find any negro to believe that Andrew Johnson is an angel of light. If they had a negro convention, they would never have that man on the ticket. They always believed that he was false, and I have it from the best authority that they always doubted his honesty and integrity. The white man, not as wise as the ignorant black man, took Andrew Johnson up and elevated him to the office—to his office—as I have said before, not by the grace of God, but by the grace of assassination.

"The best policy that can be adopted by our friends, North and South, is to stand boldly and squarely up for principle. (Applause.) You can talk about the loss of a few votes, and the effect upon the elections or that sort of thing as you will, but I tell you when you come up boldly, and fairly adopt the principles of the Declaration of Independence, then you will find that that policy will be adopted all over the South as well. (Applause.) Look at it. *I assert that nearly every candidate for Congress, who walked boldly up and took this position, is returned by a majority of thousands, while those who were weak-kneed, were elected barely 'by the skin of their teeth.'*

"Take the policy of the reconstructed States. Virginia was reconstructed under very favorable circumstances but a short time ago, and no parchment laws could have disfranchised their rebels more thoroughly. They had a small number of white people to stand by and execute the laws and a large number of black men that they did not allow to help them to execute the laws, and a large majority of white men that would not allow them to execute them. By and by they will find their liberties in the hands of the disloyal, and that the loyal men cannot be elected. If they had given the black men the ballot, they, and a small number of loyal white men, could have aided in the enforcement of the law, and to-day you would have had loyal men in the government, and probably my friend in the chair (Mr. Botts) might have been in Congress instead of those that we now see attempting to gain admission. *There is not one single motive of expediency but what says to you, 'Gentlemen, you must do justice;* you must honor your flag; you must keep untarnished the honor and morality of your government;' and I take it that this government was formed to establish justice and to secure the blessings of liberty. Be bold and fearless, and I know the Northern people well enough to be able to say that they will stand by you.

"Look at the effect of the temporizing policy that is now coming on. I ask every man to bear witness that in three years, if this policy is carried on, we will have a war of races as the results of the acts of these rebellious Southerners so constantly committed in various sections of the country. You cannot arm three or four hundred thousand men against a community and then turn them loose in that community and expect to find them favorably received. The negro is a docile man. He loves peace and quiet; he loves to live quietly and contentedly. He is naturally more industrious, at least, than our miserable rebels that want to trample his rights under their feet. If they let him alone he will be a good citizen, and do more to develop the South than all the rebels that ever lived. I tell you, further, that if you do not take some such course to enable him to protect himself *he will take the matter into his own hand*, and God pity the rebels when that day comes! You may help the President in his efforts to assist rebel white men, but we will never submit to be made instruments to crush out a class of men whose only fault is that they have been too faithful. How long would it take, with a few more examples besides New Orleans—how easy it would be, to set the whole South in a flame! and, then, how are we to stop it? And yet that is the price you have got to pay for it!

"I have heard a great deal about the effect it would have upon the Republican party in case we should do certain things. We have thousands of men who are determined to be trifled with no longer; who have fought on our side and *now* desire to fight with us. If we refuse this, it will be said that the Republican party was afraid, and Andrew Johnson will say they dare not do what they came here to do. If, when your call professes to favor the equality of all men before the law, you go home yielding to outside pressure, Mr. Johnson can justly say that you are 'poor whites,' and dare not say what you want, and he will have good reason to say so.

"Let us see what this Congressional policy is. You are not to let a rebel or two sit in Congress; that is all. It will not affect the non-reconstructed States at all; but *it leaves yourselves and your families in the hands of the wickedest traitors.*

"Men came up here to say 'We are in favor of the principle, but, for God's sake, don't speak it out.' Do you believe you will lose a single vote by leaving it out, who would vote with you without it? I do not believe the people are prepared to say that they will desert loyalty, truth, union, justice and freedom, merely because they are afraid the black man will have absolute and perfect justice done him. The day of compromises has passed away; the day has passed away when our people would take up candidates for the Presidency on that ground. No man will get the confidence of the people that has not nerve and backbone; and I tell you, gentlemen, they will stand up to the occasion."

Notwithstanding this appeal, the speaker's second motion was also killed by being referred to the Committee.

Speeches by Anna E. Dickinson and Frederick Douglass, which we have in type, are crowded out this week. They will appear in our next.

NORTHERN INFLUENCE IN THE CONVENTION.

When we first heard that the Republican party of the North proposed to take part in the Southern Loyalist Convention, we were reminded somewhat of the speculations attending the late Rebel Convention in its relation to the Democratic party. It was then asked "whether Jonah would swallow the whale, or the whale Jonah." So, now, it was clear that if the Loyal Convention were to proclaim their faith, unequivocally, in negro suffrage, the Republican party would be—nill or will—converted into an instrument of reform. Should the Northern Republicans, however, dominate over the sentiment of the Convention, it was clear the former would derive much party strength therefrom; but the cause of freedom would not be advanced under the incubus. Such was the outlook on the 3d inst., when the New York *Tribune* contained the ominous announcement: "The Southern Delegates *as* Radical in Their Views *as* Those from the North."

How all this has since been shaped in reality, the following extract from the Philadelphia correspondence of the New York *Times* (Sept. 8) will show:

"The great fear which prevailed among the delegates on their first arrival was that Northern delegations would seek to coerce them into accepting a line of policy calculated to subserve the interests of the party North of Mason and Dixon's line to the detriment of their Southern constituents. * * To avoid this coercion the Southerners declined to admit the Northerners to the Convention. But these gentlemen from New England and the Great West were irrepressible. They might be barred out of the Convention, but they could not be denied the streets nor the hotels. They accordingly laid in wait for their dear brethren of the South, and button-holed the delegates as soon as they appeared. Every one had his little fling at each of them, and the pressure thus brought to bear upon the Convention was sufficient to decide its action. Washington and Albany lobbying was never more successful than was this outside pressure upon the delegates. They had come with a full determination to insist that negro suffrage should be one of the cardinal points laid down in the platform—the point of all others on which they were most resolute; this they considered their ark of safety. But these subtle New Englanders and Great Westerners combined with Kentucky and Maryland to omit that particular plank. They represented that if the party were forced to shoulder that load at this time, defeat in the coming election was sure. They said 'wait till the election gives us a Radical Congress, then we'll take up this burden, and any other little luggage you may have; but now we want fat offices and much power, so let Fred. Douglass and his friends stay out in the cold a little longer.' So the address and resolutions were framed and adopted without a word about suffrage—the play of 'Hamlet' was played with *Hamlet* left out by particular request. * *

"So the address and resolutions, prepared to suit the Border States, were adopted, and immediately Maryland proposes to adjourn *sine die!* * * So they [the Gulf-State men] resolved to excuse the dear Border-State brethren, relieve them from further attendance, and let them go home. This these [latter] gentlemen could afford to do. They had gained their point. The teeth of the Radical lion had been drawn, and they were no longer afraid of his roaring. * * It sounded very nicely for the Northern delegates, in their meetings, to denounce all attempts to coerce or in any way influence the Southern Convention. Senator Kelly enacted his part in the little comedy very well indeed. He implored the Northern delegates not to dictate a policy to the Convention, and the delegates resolved that they wouldn't. But they knew a trick worth two of that—they resorted to the button-holing process. On the face of it, the Southern Convention seemed to be acting throughout of its own volition; but the fact was, each delegate was but a windy puppet, and the string which worked his legs and moved his arms, and made him squeak, was pulled by a Northern brother."

Apart from what remains, of coarseness, in the preceding (after our excision of the most vulgar passages), and apart from the unjust aspersion it flings on Judge Kelley, it is as truthful a picture of the internal workings of the Convention—during its first four days—as we have seen. The passage referring to the play of 'Hamlet' with the part of *Hamlet* left out characterizes the proceedings of the Border Convention with remarkable fitness.

Of course, many of the Northern delegates were truer to the instincts of justice than to the promptings of party expediency, but it is to the aggregate mass of the Northern politicians concerned that the *Times*' damning testimony justly applies.

A GOOD-NATURED VIEW

Of some matters in and about the Convention is given in the following spicy letter of James Redpath to the Boston *Traveller:*

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 7th.

THE ADDRESS OF ANNA M. DICKINSON.

My last dispatch from the Convention predicted that the Border statesmen would receive a lecture from Anna Dickinson, and stated that they acted as if they anticipated it. This prediction was formed from the appearance of the Maryland delegation, and a knowledge of the character of the orator, and it was fulfilled.

THE AUDIENCE.

It was curious to note the audience. There sat, directly in front of the platform, three or four hundred Southern men, few of whom had ever heard a woman speak; few of whom could debate, when antagonistic views were advanced, without the grossest personal vituperation.

BROWNLOW AND BOTTS AS LISTENERS.

Their ideal of controversial oratory was with them, and sitting at the right hand of the young maiden as she stepped forward to deliver a speech as denunciatory as ever he uttered, but as free from offensive personal allusions as any oration can be. It was Brownlow, the bitterest and foulest-tongued man in the South. On her left sat John Minor Botts; with his lips tightly compressed and his face telling plainly that he remained there from courtesy, but would remain a patient listener to the speech.

THE ATTENTION PAID TO HER.

She began, and for the first time since it met, the Convention was so still that the faintest whisper could be heard. She had not spoken long before she declared that Maryland had no business in the Convention, but ought to have been with the delegates who came to welcome. There was vehement applause from the border States.

AN INTERRUPTION.

"That is a direct insult!" shouted a delegate from Maryland.

She went on without regarding these coarse interruptions, reviewing the conduct of the Border States with scorn, and talking with an eloquence I never heard equalled in any previous effort, in favor of an open, hearty, manly declaration of the real opinion of the Convention for justice to the colored loyalist, not in the courts only, but at the ballot-box.

EFFECT OF HER REMARKS.

There was none of the flippancy or pertness which sometimes disfigures her public speeches It was her noblest style throughout,—bold but tender, and often so pathetic that she brought tears to every eye. Every word came through her heart, and it went right to the hearts of all. Kentucky and Maryland now listened as eagerly as Georgia and Alabama.

Brownlow's iron features and Bott's rigid face soon relaxed, and tears stood in the old Virginian's eyes more than once, while the noble Tennesseean moved his place, and gazed at the inspired girl with an interest and wonderment which no other orator had brought to the fanatic's hard face.

She had the audience in hand as easily as a mother holds her child, and like the child this audience heard her heart beat. It was enobled thereby. It was really a marvellous speech. The fullest report of it would not do it justice, because the greatness lay in its manner and its effect, as well as in its argument.

When she finished, one after another Southern delegate came forward and pinned on her dress the badges of their States until she wore the gifts of Alabama, Missouri, Tennessee, Texas, Florida, Louisiana and Maryland.

SPEECH OF FRED. DOUGLASS.

Another triumph was to come. As noble and as great. Fred. Douglass was called for and came forward. The same greeting was awarded him as Anna Dickinson had received. The Gulf States applauded and the Border States looked glum. Brownlow and Botts relapse into rigidity; but he also took the audience by storm. He was very happy in his speech. It was as radical as he had ever delivered in Boston.

WHAT HE THOUGHT OF THE CONVENTION.

He ridiculed the policy of the Border State men, and urged the Convention to say in plain terms that it meant to secure negro suffrage.

He spoke ironically of its adjournment in order to enable him to address it, instead of inviting him to come up while it was in session, but he was so adroit withal and so witty and humorous that every one listened to him with delight. It was a very great victory for him, once the Maryland slave, to stand there before the Maryland delegation and not only to oppose their policy but urge their opponents to stand firm, and yet to be listened to with attention and applause by every one in the audience.

THEODORE TILTON

spoke next, and took the same ground. He always speaks well, but this speech was not in his best vein, as he was tired out and hoarse, and had to bear a comparison to the very finest efforts of his predecessors.

WHAT HE SAID ABOUT SENATOR WILSON.

Like Miss Dickinson, he made a sarcastic reference to the course here of Senator Wilson. Both declared that he misrepresented Massachusetts in his private intercourse with Southern members by saying or leaving the impression that they did not desire the issue of impartial suffrage.

AN INDIGNANT VIRGINIAN.

By the way, there is a great deal of talk about this thing. One honored Senator is charged with talking on both sides and throwing his influence very emphatically at times in favor of the Border State policy. It is certain that the Southerners say he did it, and that some of them are furious about it. A Virginia delegate said to me—"If you had kept your shoemaker at home we would have had a square negro suffrage platform."

GEN. BUTLER A "BULLY BOY."

Gen. Butler is not accused of that sort of conduct. Benjamin's backbone is in a remarkably sound condition.

If I were in the Essex District I would sign that paper in his favor. When I ask the Southern delegates what they think of the General, they say in direct terms that he is "a bully boy."

A CALL FOR WENDELL PHILLIPS.

One thing is asked sneeringly about Massachusetts—Why was not Wendell Phillips sent here as delegate? The Gulf State men suspect that there is a Border State policy in the Massachusetts Republican Committee.

EVENING SESSION.

There was an evening session, at which an attempt was made to adjourn *sine die*. This motion produced a stormy scene.

GOV. HAMILTON ON THE BORDER STATES.

Gov. Hamilton of Texas rose, and with vigor vehemence and eloquence he said the Border States had tried to carry their point. He told them that they had too long abused the courtesy of the Gulf States, but they had now reached a limit which the human heart could no further bear. They wanted to adjourn this Convention and have the Gulf States hold another Convention, so that they might go home to their constituents and say, "We had nothing to do about negro suffrage—it was only the poor whites who did that!" They had said in committee, "We are all right; it is our constituents who are not." Their constituents are better than they are. If they dared to do this thing, he would follow them into their districts and tell their constituents what they did say here.

ATTEMPTED INTERRUPTION.

Senator Cresswell of Maryland attempted to interrupt, but he dropped at one bullet sentence from the indignant Texan, who, in ringing and denunciatory language, contrasted the manly course of Henry Winter Davis with the action of the trimmers who succeeded him. We did not come here, he said, to study how one more or less of the Representatives in Congress from the State of Maryland were to be secured, or how that very grand achievement for the salvation of a nation was to be accomplished in any other State. But we did come here to declare what were the true interests of a large portion of the people of this country, irrespective of how the truth might be received by any section of the country.

It is right that the truth should be known. The very object of calling the Convention was to place before the intelligent millions of the United States the true condition, moral, social and political, of the now reconstructed States. If they did not do that and declare the remedy, they had better never have met.

This speech was received with immense applause. It fairly cowed down the trimmers. Not one of them dared to press the motion.

SPEECH OF GOV. BROWNLOW.

Gov. Brownlow, having made the motion, rose and made a highly characteristic speech. He said, Gentlemen, I rise in my feebleness to undo what I have done, but before I do so I wish to make a few remarks. I had no conversation with any gentleman from the State of Maryland on this subject. I was concerned in no conspiracy whatever against this body or any delegation.

I knew that a large number of delegates were going away to-night, among whom were a number from my own State. I knew and stated the fact that we had been four days and nights together in

boring hard. We had done a good work and done it well. But I apprehended we might get into some mischievous discussion here, and do more harm than good, and I moved that we should adjourn *sine die*.

Some gentleman, not through any unkind feeling toward me, but through a mistaken appreciation of my motives, has said that we were afraid of the negro suffrage question, and sought to dodge it. Why, I should feel disgraced now and forever if I felt doubtful on any subject of national concern. I never was claimed on both sides of any question, and never intend to be. While I am satisfied with what has been done, I am the advocate of negro suffrage and of impartial suffrage. (Great applause, and three cheers for Brownlow.)

NEGROES VERSUS REBELS.

I would sooner be elected to any office under heaven by loyal negroes than by disloyal white men. (Applause.)

I would sooner associate in private life with a loyal negro than a disloyal white man. I would sooner be buried in a negro graveyard than in a rebel graveyard. (Applause.) If I had after death to go either to hell or to heaven, I should prefer to go with loyal negroes to hell than with traitors to heaven. I now withdraw my motion to adjourn *sine die*. (Cheers.)

A COMPROMISE.

After some skirmishing a compromise resolution was adopted, by which the Convention met at 10 o'clock, and the report of the non-reconstructed States, embodying impartial suffrage, will be read and acted on solely by the Gulf State delegations, who are to take the exclusive responsibility for it. Pluck is triumphant! BERWICK.

A CRY FROM THE SHAMBLES.

THE subjoined important petition, from the loyal citizens of New Orleans, asking protection from Congress and the loyal citizens of the nation, has been signed by nearly every [white] Union man in that city and is now on its way North:

We, the undersigned Union men of the State of Louisiana, respectfully represent that after four years combating the armed forces of the rebels and traitors, we are not prepared nor yet willing that these same rebels and traitors should return among us, assume authority, maltreat with contumely and contempt, or otherwise abuse us. The facts are patent and beyond question, and it is well shown that the real Union men of this State are in the minority. The returned rebels and traitors have the balance of power in their hands, and it is publicly avowed that the Confederate element must rule. Matters have assumed such a phase that if not strangled in the birth, we, the Union men, will have no security for life, property or honor. The returned rebels and traitors are daily growing more powerful, and daily insults and abuses are heaped upon us by them. They no sooner find a return to power than they commence a series of abuse of us. They lose no opportunity, but upon all occasions use vile epithets toward us. Our residences are marked, and attempts have been made to fire the dwellings of some of us who are most conspicuous. We are told that we are spotted, and daily threats are heard against us. They not only abuse and curse us in private, but publicly scorn and villify us. Newspapers, of which we have but two in our interest, cannot be brought on the streets; but, like private papers, during the days of the inquisition of old, are passed from hand to hand. We would infinitely prefer to return them their arms and fight them in open field than thus to permit them, under the protection of our government, to assume to dictate to us and govern us. Our government, under a misapplied mercy, grants to prisoners of war, guilty of the highest crime against the State—treason—the privilege, hitherto unknown, of dictating to their conquerors the terms upon which the conquerors may be permitted to live in the land of their birth with unpardoned traitors—against all of which we protest. We protest against being termed rebels and traitors by those whose hands are yet reeking with the blood of Union men, and who boldly and with unsurpassed effrontery, not only in private, but throughout the daily papers, term us rebels and traitors, and style themselves the Union men of the South, and this too while they are keeping up their Confederate organizations, and utterly ignoring that they are prisoners of war to our government. We protest against being ruled by prisoners of war under parole. We protest against being abused by them. We protest against being made to feel the vengeance of baffled traitors. We protest against being used as the lamb of the sacrifice to conciliate rebels and traitors. Knowing our shrift would be short, if once these assassins gain power, as they have proved conclusively by their acts of premeditated, cold-blooded butchery of Union men on Monday, the 13th of July, the Saint-Bartholomew-day of New Orleans, we protest against being left to the tender mercies of the assassins, who use the knife and pistols. We protest most emphatically against being made the slaves, so to speak, of these prisoners of war, who hate us with unutterable hate, who despise and curse us. Was it for these hundreds and thousands of our Union soldiers perished? Was it for this we waged a war for the Union? Was it for this we have imbrued our whole land in taxation? Was it for this we spent millions of treasure? Was it for this we have made invalids and cripples of our thousands of Union men? Was it for this we elected Andrew Johnson to the office from which ill-starred events caused him to become President? Was it for this we conquered? We therefore call upon the conquerors and loyal citizens of the nation to protect us. We not only petition, but demand protection from the Congress of your country, as we are in duty bound.

THE PRESIDENT—CONGRESS—HENRY WARD BEECHER.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

THE persistent efforts of Mr. Beecher to cast blame on the Republican majority of the present Congress as—at least equally with President Johnson—responsible for the grave existing difference between them, impels me, in the interest of truth and justice, to make a statement of facts.

I was one of the many who early apprehended and anxiously deprecated a breach between Congress and the President. Soon after our last State election, and before the assembling of the present Congress, I went, not uninvited, to Washington, expressly to guard against such a difference. Being admitted to an interview with the President, I urged him to call to Washington three of the most eminent and trusted expositors of Northern anti-slavery sentiment, and three equally eminent and representative Southern ex-rebels, and ask them to take up their residence at the White House for a week, a fortnight, so long as they might find necessary, while they by free and friendly conference and discussion, should earnestly endeavor to find a common ground whereon the North and the South should be not merely reconciled, but made evermore fraternal and harmonious. I suggested that the President should occasionally, as he could find time, drop in on these conferences and offer such suggestions as he should deem fit—rather as a moderator or common friend, than as a party to the discussion.

A suggestion of names being invited, I proposed those of Gov. Andrew of Massachusetts, Gerrit Smith of New York, and Judge R. P. Spaulding of Ohio, as three who seemed to me fair representatives of the anti-slavery sentiment of the North, while neither specially obnoxious to nor disposed to deal harshly with the South; and I added that I hoped they would be met by men like Gen. Robert E. Lee, Alexander H. Stephens, etc., who would be recognized and heeded by the South as men in whose hands her honor and true interests would be safe. But I added that I had no special desire that these or any particular men should be selected, wishing only that those chosen from either section should be such as to command their people's confidence and support. And I pledged myself to support, to the extent of my power, any adjustment that should thus be matured and agreed upon.

Some two months later, after the meeting of Congress, and when the political sky had become darker, I went again to Washington, on the assurance of a mutual friend that the President desired to see me. The Joint Committee on Reconstruction had then been appointed. At an interview promptly accorded, I urged the President to invite this Committee to the White House, and discuss with them, from evening to evening, as friend with friends, all the phases of the grave problem of reconstruction, with a fixed resolve to find a basis of agreement if possible. I urged such considerations as occurred to me in favor of the feasibility of such agreement if it were earnestly sought, as I felt sure it would be on the side of Congress. The vast patronage in the President's hands—the reluctance of the majority in Congress to see their friends, supporters and nominees expelled by wholesale from office, and their places supplied by bitter adversaries—the natural anxiety of every party in power to maintain cordial relations with the head of the government chosen by its votes—these, and a thousand kindred considerations, rendered morally certain an agreement between Congress and the President without a sacrifice of principle on either hand, if the latter should sincerely seek it.

I speak only of what I said and proposed, because I have no permission and no right to speak further. That my suggestions were not followed, nor anything akin to them, the public sadly knows. And the conclusion to which I have been most reluctantly forced is, that the President *did not want* harmony with Congress—that he had already made up his mind to break with the party which had elected him and seek a further lease of power through the favor and support of its implacable enemies. HORACE GREELEY.

WENDELL PHILLIPS FOR CONGRESS.

From the N. Y. Times.

THE Republicans of Boston talk of nominating Wendell Phillips for Congress. He has waived his objections to the Constitution of the United States since slavery was abolished, and is said now to be willing, not only to vote, but to serve in Congress, both which, up to a very recent date, he has refused to do.

We are not sorry to see this movement, and, in certain contingencies, should not be sorry to see it succeed. If the Republican party is to be perverted to the principles and purposes of Mr. Phillips, it is eminently proper that he should hold a position of responsibility in its councils. If that party is to plant itself upon the Phillips plaform, it is desirable on all accounts that Mr. Phillips should be recognized and accepted as its leader. Hitherto it has held other principles and aimed at other objects, and it has also been guided by other counsels. If its purposes and essential character are to be changed, its leaders should be changed also. Thus far, while it has been the party of progress and reform, it has labored for them under and within the Constitution, holding the integrity of the Union and the supremacy of the fundamental law to be of primary and paramount importance. Mr. Phillips always resented and resisted this self-imposed limitation upon its power. He always held, and still holds, the Union and the Constitution to be secondary and subordinate to his ideas of reform—and especially to the elevation of the negro race to a perfect equality, political, civil and social, with the white race in all the States; and to accomplish this result he is prepared to disregard the Constitution, override State authority, perpetuate disunion, and change our form of government from a union of States, in which all the people have an equal share, to a sectional despotism, in which one-third the States and people shall have no voice. A vigorous effort is made to bring the Republican party to this platform and make it the bulwark of these plans. If it succeeds, then Wendell Phillips is its proper leader, and it is due, alike to him, to the party and the country, that he should have all the power and all the responsibility which belong to that position. Mr. Sumner, Mr. Wilson, Gov. Boutwell, Mr. Stevens and others have done a good deal toward bringing Congress up to the Phillips platform, and it is quite time they had the aid of Mr. Phillips himself. His superior ability, his greater tenacity and integrity of purpose, the greater clearness with which he perceives his ultimate object, and the more reckless courage with which he pursues it, would consummate the end with which they have been tampering so long, and the country would have less difficulty than it now encounters in pronouncing a decisive judgment upon it.

Mr. Phillips has another special object in view which probably induces him to seek a seat in Congress just now. In discussing the necessities of the immediate future, he says:

"Our duty is to put there [in Congress] men who will at every hazard save the nation, remembering that they stand where the Long Parliament stood in 1649; and *though the* BLOCK AND AXE *in front of the palace may be no fitting measure* NOW, *they are bound to* FIND *and to* USE *some measure fit and efficient to secure their purpose—the* DEPOSITION OF THE PERJURED AND USURPING TRAITOR."

Somebody, in Mr. Phillips's opinion, must play the part of Cromwell. The PRESIDENT of the United States must be DEPOSED! A resort to the block and axe possibly may not be fitting or expedient *now*; but "*Congress is bound to find and use* SOME *measure*" which shall accomplish the same end. The President, Mr. Phillips said some time ago, is an "obstacle" to the accomplishment of their plans—an "obstacle to be removed." He interposes the obstacle of the Constitution to the fulfilment of their purposes; and for this he must be "DEPOSED." Mr. Phillips is quite right in thinking that the accomplishment of this purpose demands his presence and his agency in Congress. He may not have any marked advantage over Mr. Stevens in being wholly free from constitutional scruples, but he has more ears and greater eloquence at his command, and is less likely to yield to considerations of political expediency. With Maj.-Gen. Butler, who has already had himself made Commander-in-Chief of the Massachusetts militia, and who also seeks a seat in Congress, for his Lieutenant, and a subservient majority in both Houses at his command, Wendell Phillips may flatter himself with a very fair prospect of plunging the country into a civil war which shall unite the carnage of the French Revolution with the horrors of St. Domingo, and thus satisfy his ideal of a perfect equality of races—all races and all classes being whelmed in a common ruin. This is a prospect which must delight the enemies of the policy of restoration and peace proposed and pursued by the President.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

From the Independent.

THE neighbors of Wendell Phillips owe it alike to him and to themselves to nominate him for Congress this Fall. The story is told that he would decline such a nomination. This may be true. But it still does not absolve Massachusetts from her duty to see herself represented, once at least, by her typical and chief radical. Now is the time when the grand old State needs to represent her radicalism more than any other feature of her statesmanship. Wendell Phillips could have been the product of no other than the Bay State. Nor could the Bay State have been what she is, had he never been born. Further than any other man, he has warped her forward to her true anchorage in political equality. Congress needs not only his opinions, but his type of mind. He would be one of the most original, prolific, and useful men in that body; and, after he had been in it for a single term, his compeers would clamor for his re-election. They could not do without him. Though his chief fame is that of an orator, his chief merit is that of a statesman. Unrivaled as a debater, he would probably make fewer speeches on the floor, but would suggest more thoughts in the committee-room, than almost any member of the present House, except perhaps two or three who need not be here named. Mr. Phillips may have an excuse for not accepting the nomination; but Massachusetts has no excuse for not offering it.

WILLIAM B. CAMBELL, Bailie Peyton and John Lellyett, now conspicuous among the President's supporters in Tennessee, denounced Mr. Andrew Johnson (in 1864) for uttering the following sentiments before a negro assembly, after breaking up a "conservative meeting" with guns and pistols:

"Loyal men from this day forward, are to be controllers of Tennessee's grand and sublime destiny, and rebels must be dumb—we will not listen to their counsel. Nashville is no longer the place for them to hold their meetings. Let them gather their treasonable conclaves elsewhere, among their friends in the Confederacy. They shall not hold conspiracies in Nashville."

No; their places are New Orleans and Memphis. —*Tribune*.

BENNETT'S OFFER TO THE CONFEDERACY.—There will shortly be published a record of the proceedings of the secret sessions of the Confederate Congress. This interesting publication will reveal the fact beyond all dispute, that James Gordon Bennett sent an agent to the Confederate government, offering to sell the influence of the New York *Herald* to the Confederacy, and to advocate the secession movement, for the sum of £50,000 in gold, to be paid in England. This offer was duly considered and rejected, upon the grounds: first, that the New York *Herald* had no influence, and could not be of service to the Confederacy; and, secondly, that, judging from Bennett's antecedents and known character, he would not keep faith with them, but would be false to his bargain at the first opportunity that promised a reward for his treachery.

This is one more chapter in the history of the infamous career of this bad old man.—*N. Y. News*.

MUSCULAR CHRISTIANITY is at a discount both in the United States and England. Henry Ward Beecher has come out for Andrew Johnson and Charles Kingsley has come out for the Jamaica Governor Eyre.—*Boston Transcript*.

ANDREW JOHNSON judged by himself: "Whenever you find a man anywhere prating about the Constitution of the United States, spot him; he's a traitor!"—*Andrew Johnson's Campaign Speech at Nashville, Sept.*, 1864.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1866.

THE SOUTHERN LOYALISTS' CONVENTION.

AT last the South has spoken on the only great National issue—negro suffrage. Its testimony has been uttered in just those circumstances that we should have chosen had we been permitted to arrange them. The influences to which the Convention was subjected, tested the strength and the exact character of its convictions. Here, as in every other instance, at the South as at the North, it is clear that the PEOPLE, including their leaders, really *believe* that negro suffrage is the only full and permanent cure for our National difficulties; the only arrangement which will insure that safety for life at the South, and that temptation for Northern capital to go there, which are indispensable to any true reconstruction. The debates of this Convention, placed alongside of the comments on them, prove this to any observing man.

Putting one side those few erratic minds still imbued with colorphobia, the sincerity of whose doubts on this subject need not be questioned, the rest of the nation could be divided into three classes—first, the thoroughly dishonest hypocrites, like Johnson, and the *Evening Post*, who believe, know, and have often avowed, their conviction of the need of negro suffrage, but now deny and conceal it from conscious spite, ambition, or love of lucre. Secondly, time-servers, like Wilson of Massachusetts, the Tennessee men, and the bulk of the Republican press, who conceal their real sentiments to secure the success of the party. Some of these are honestly deluded, and really fear to speak their thoughts, from dread of consequences; others adopt this mask because, indifferent to all principle, they think this course will do them the least harm with friend and foe. Thirdly, the great body of the nation, who know that full justice to the negro is the only cure for our hurt, avow it, mean to have it, and are only temporarily baulked in their purpose by timid, selfish, ignorant or ambitious leaders.

It is a great thing to discover what the national faith really is. In time, acts follow convictions. Neither presidents nor parties can long hold a nation back from doing what it really believes necessary for its safety.

Had the Radicals in great numbers crowded to welcome the Southern patriots, it might have been said that these gentlemen were urged by sympathy, undue influence or misrepresentation, to advocate negro suffrage. But very few of those recognized as Radicals were present. The preponderating influence among Northern visitors was that of the timid Republicans, fearful lest some cry of agony, wrung from the tortured South, should disturb their temporising game for the Fall elections. We do not forget the honored exceptions among these Northern visitors. Not deeming it necessary to name Tilton, Douglass, Kelley and Miss Dickinson, we love to spare one line for gratitude to Col. HAMILTON of New York with his eighty years of honorable service—the worthy representative of one of the three great American names.

Our Northern doughfaces, with some difficulty, persuaded the Border State delegates to smother their convictions, assuring them that any radical platform would peril Republican success this Fall. Thus these Northern Facing-both-ways-politicians succeeded in preventing the Convention, as a whole, from taking any ground on the great issue. But the debate which ensued proved how unalterable and deep-seated was the conviction of both Border State and Gulf State men as to the *necessity* of such a measure. No one denied its necessity, no one doubted that finally it must be. No one offered anything that could be called, by the utmost courtesy, an argument against its being now demanded.

When the Border State men, by the persuasion of their Northern deceivers, surrendered the point of demanding it now, they stultified themselves. If they had nothing to ask for their constituents, why did they assemble? They had no constituents but the blacks. Their white constituency is too insignificant in numbers to be counted. They confess as much when they sum up the dangers to which the isolated white loyalists are exposed, the moment our Northern army leaves. A few strangers like the native Christians of Damascus or Pekin, just large enough in numbers for the pettiest foe to see and trample on. New Orleans proves it—all her white loyalty shut up in one Hall and murdered by a single blow. If they did not represent the blacks, they represented nobody. If they did represent the blacks, then they betrayed their constituents. If they came to speak only for whites, then instead of being a representative body they were merely a meeting of respectable gentlemen assembled to proclaim their individual grievances, like the members of a banking or railroad corporation who feel themselves to have been cheated. A perfectly honest and worthy function, but one in which the general public needs not take any special interest. The only noticeable characteristic of such a gathering is that, at a moment like this, it seems slightly impertinent for a hundred or two private gentlemen to trouble the public with their griefs.

The Gulf State men on the contrary, those who spoke and acted at the last session of the Convention, represented not only a principle but a Nation. They represented a principle, the acknowledgment of which revives trade, gives new life to public credit, sets up *law*, now beaten down in one-half the nation, and makes civil war impossible. They represent a Nation—five millions of blacks—whose weight against us made the rebellion possible, whose supposed neutrality enabled it to drag on for years, and whose decision on our side crushed resistance to national authority. They represent *allies* whose claim on our honor is endorsed by our most urgent self-interest; without whose continued assistance the nation's victory would be substantial defeat, since a large standing army, sufficient to watch the South, would, at the same time, kill the principle of our government and bankrupt our exchequer.

What such representatives say is pre-eminently worthy to be heeded. Their declaration that unless impartial suffrage be established by the authority of the National government, we have "no safety against the fell spirit of slavery"—puts the seal to Northern conviction on that point. They know—no men better—whereof they affirm. Theirs is no holiday declamation, no cunning party platform, no hair-splitting about constitutional theories. It is the agonized protest of loyal men, who will not submit to exile, against a policy which for them means robbery and murder. It is a cry for help from men in death-grapple with the nation's foes and their own. It is the claim of *subjects* upon government for protection, of *allies* for the fulfilment of our pledges to make their freedom a reality and a boon, not a sham and a snare. It is the loyalty of Louisiana, pointing to the bloody pavements of New Orleans, and demanding protection.

That these noble men stood firm against the persuasion of their Border State brothers and the entreaties of their Northern visitors, that all the cajoling of practised political jugglers never deceived or confused them one moment, proves the intensity and clearness of their conviction. They have done us a very great service. Again has the negro—this time by his representative—saved our laboring standard. Negro suffrage was hitherto a private theory—a faith avowed by many, accepted by most; but it had no political standing. The Cleveland Convention of 1864 is the only political body that ever lifted up this sign of safety before the nation. The utter and bitter disavowal of that movement by the besotted idolaters of Lincoln and Johnson defeated that attempt to draw attention to the point.

But after this momentous indorsement, Negro Suffrage takes its place among acknowledged party issues. It had *force;* it has now taken *form*. Seeming strange—but not so in reality—that the heartiest friends of such a measure should come from among the aristocracy of the old slave States!

We wanted the full, frank, explicit opinion of the Southern loyalists on our issues—the testimony of experts, the evidence of those specially able to judge; in order that, with such materials in their hands, Northern men could make up a sound judgment. We did not want *so much* of Southern opinion given us as political gamesters thought would not peril their schemes, and *the rest* of it smothered. We did not want Southern opinion filtered through Republican cowardice. Thanks to Gen. Hamilton and his comrades, we have got what we wanted—the willing testimony of the Gulf, and the reluctant confession of the Border States—all agreeing that impartial justice is our only security.

The conduct of the Border States is in exact keeping with all their action during the war. They were always invisible, except as the strong color of the section they clung to gave them character. They have always been the blank leaf between the Testaments, on which each new owner writes his individual record. The evil genius of Mr. Wilson, of Massachusetts, is therefore of less moment, as he only seduced willing victims. It is no atonement, to be sure; but it is some satisfaction to know that he is, as usual, busy denying in public the words he whispered to his dupes.

The Gulf States, as usual, were positive. When the positive Radicalism of the Gulf and that of the Lakes come together, it is easy to predict results. The Hammer and the Anvil are agreed; let the molten and passive mass of the middle section take warning. New England shouts, "All Hail," and the great West says "Amen" to the Gulf. Their right hands are clasped, and their hearts one in this purpose; and, as Bonaparte said, the word "*impossible*" is not in their dictionaries.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

AT OUR POST AGAIN.

WE are happy to greet our readers again, and to be able to resume our editorial labors which have been interrupted for several weeks by severe illness. We return rested and invigorated.

We are in the midst of a crisis in national affairs, second in interest and importance to none of the many which have preceded it. The clouds have been and still are dark and threatening, but now as hitherto the wrath of man, we trust, will be made to serve good ends. The political history of the country furnishes no parallel to the remarkable and disgraceful campaign of President Johnson and Secretary Seward, and Gen. Grant, the "coming man," consents to give it eclat, with onimous silence, while Mr. Beecher and Dr. Tyng are taking "South-side views," of reconstruction and traitors. Abolitionists, however, may be confident and encouraged. Just principles are not less powerful to-day than heretofore, many former barriers have been overcome, and we have new and important allies in the earnest suffering and unqualified Radical loyalists of the South, who will not and cannot afford to be muzzled by the cowardly and compromising politicians of the North, and the Border States.

MR. PHILLIPS AND CONGRESS.

WE print in another column an article from the New York *Times*, and also one from the *Independent*, upon Mr. Phillips as a candidate for Congress. There is a strong desire on the part of his friends of the district in which he resides that Mr. Phillips should represent them in Congress. This, we are well assured, he will not consent to do.

We admit that all the good qualities for the office which the *Independent* ascribes to Mr. Phillips belong to him, and that the people of his district may well covet such a representative of the principles of genuine republicanism as he would make. We should deeply regret the decision, however, if he were to consent to go to Congress. We believe he does more and better for Congress and the nation as a faithful, impartial critic of men and measures outside of legislative halls, and independent of all party alliances. He is the leader of leaders. He is such by virtue of the independent, disinterested position which enables him to proclaim in advance unwelcome truths which other men hesitate to speak. Charles Sumner and Thaddeus Stevens are earnest, noble-hearted men, but they cannot always afford to say publicly what in private they confess should be said. Well might the evil genius of the *Times* be gratified to have Mr. Phillips put on the party harness, and thus forfeit his power of leadership which "Conservatives" and negro-haters so much fear and hate.

The negro and the nation cannot yet afford to have Mr. Phillips exchange the position of independent, impartial critic for that of Congressman.

HAMLIN.

WE print below the letter of the late Vice-President Hamlin, resigning, from the most honorable and patriotic motives, the Collectorship of the port of Boston. This was the man set aside in 1864, by the Republicans at Baltimore, to make way for this traitor who disgraces the White House. Every member of that Baltimore Convention must read this high-toned letter with a blush. But for the folly and wickedness of that Convention, HAMLIN would now hold the helm. How trustworthy his pilotage would have been, how honorable his course, this letter shows:

CUSTOM HOUSE, BOSTON,
COLLECTOR'S OFFICE, Aug. 23, 1866.

To the President:

One year ago you tendered to me, unsolicited on my part, the position of Collector of Customs for the District of Boston and Charlestown. I entered upon the duties of the office, and have endeavored faithfully to discharge the same, and I trust in a manner satisfactory to the public interested therein.

I do not fail to observe the movements and efforts which have been and are now being made to organize a party in the country, consisting almost exclusively of those actively engaged in the late rebellion, and their allies who sought by other means to cripple and embarrass the government. These classes of persons, with a small fraction of others, constitute the organization. It proposes to defeat and overthrow the Union Republican party, and to restore to power, without sufficient guarantees for the future and protection to men who have been loyal, those who sought to destroy the government.

I gave all the influence I possessed to create and uphold the Union Republican party during the war, and without the aid of which our government would have been destroyed and rebellion a success.

With such a party as has been inaugurated, and for such purpose, I have no sympathy, nor can I acquiesce in its measures by my silence. I therefore tender to you my resignation of the office of Collector of Customs for the District of Boston and Charlestown, to take effect from the time when a successor shall be appointed and qualified.

Respectfully yours,
(Signed) H. HAMLIN.

BESIDE the speeches made at the Southern Convention, that we have put in type, excellent ones were made by Gov. Hamilton and Judge Sherwood of Texas, Gov. Fletcher of Missouri, Theodore Tilton of New York, and others. If we can get anything like a fair report of these, we intend to present some of them next week, in addition to those we have announced as standing over.

OUR Acknowledgments are again unavoidably deferred.

GOV. HAMILTON.

AMONG the brave champions of impartial freedom and true-hearted loyalists from the far South, the master spirit and natural leader is unquestionably Gov. A. J. HAMILTON, of Texas. Throughout the late Convention his influence was given for impartial suffrage. His appeals were based upon justice as the highest expediency. The following, from a speech after the adjournment of the Convention, is a merited rebuke of certain time-serving and cowardly Northern delegates, and a noble, manly defence of truth and justice:

"When we met in Convention, we loyal men of the South expected no obstruction to an outspoken expression of feeling. Judge of my surprise and disappointment when I found here a few Northern men, who thought more of their own election to Congress than they did of alleviating our condition at home. They said that if we expressed ourselves in an open manner they feared they would lose their elections in the North. But we have no such fears. We are anxious to do impartial justice to all men, [illegible] the broad rock of eternal truth. Men made in the image of God had been kept in slavery for two hundred years; but they have at last been made free and brought into the fold of the Union as free men. Why should Frederick Douglass be denied any right that is enjoyed by any of us? Oh, but they say it is not expedient. But I have learned by the sad experience of five years that truth is the fittest thing to be spoken on all occasions. Justice has never suffered in the sight of God. Let us, then, no longer give our enemies in the Old World the right to say, 'You proclaim freedom and justice to all, but in your practice give the lie to your professions.' Our past example has done much to alleviate the condition of the downtrodden of the South, and now, by the grace of God, every man in our midst who has a true heart, and is willing to shed his blood for the salvation of his country, of whatever nationality or color he may be, is our brother, our friend, our fellow-citizen, and entitled as such to the same privileges as any of us."

PERSONAL.

Gen. Rosecrans has tendered his resignation from the army.

The War Department and Gen. Grant have each intimated to Gen. Sheridan that he can be relieved from duty at New Orleans.

Gov. Brownlow, of Tennessee, in a recent address to the people of New Orleans, says: "Having no hope of protection from the President, in the event of an attack from a rebel mob, I shall look with confidence to the Northwestern States to come to our rescue, as soon as attacked by the minions of Jeff. Davis and Andrew Johnson. And if further developments seem to justify it, I will call out the loyal militia of the State, and call upon the Legislature to arm and equip them. We must and will meet these traitors, and sustain the governments, State and National, or fall with our faces to the foe!"

Rev. O. B. Frothingham resumed his labors on Sunday morning last. He preached a discourse on "Work," in the course of which he said:

"No genius makes compensation for ignobleness of aim or littleness of spirit. He who abuses his talent to mystify or mislead the world, at once steps down from among the true workers, and takes his place among the ditchers and delvers. This is neither sacred nor dignified. There is a curse upon this labor worse than fatigue or hunger:

"'Who rules a State not for God's laws
Makes that and the action vile.'

"When a statesman whose name has been a synonym for far-reaching wisdom, broad sympathy with the wrongs and rights of mankind, advanced insight into the causes of social progress, and high courage in advocating the principles of equal justice for men and women of every race and condition, allows himself to fall under narrowing and belittleing influences, and lends himself to the advocacy of doctrines inconsistent with those that have given him fame and honor among his cotemporaries, the charm of genius departs from his labor, his power is a source of weakness, his talent is a misfortune, his influence is a thing to be deplored, and men say: 'Alas! the day-laborer ought to be happier than he!'

"When a man, whom the people have set in a high place and furnished with immeasurable opportunities for good—as great as are possessed by any individual of the human race—a man who has been set in the very foremost rank of the world's workers, in the highest region of design and operation, uses all this power and opportunity of work for poorer than partisan purposes; goes down into the arena and challenges his political opponents to a wrestling-match; bandies bully and bravado with the mob, outdoing the rabble in cant and slang—drags after him in tumultuous procession the crowd of men who have been doing their utmost to overturn the State, and denounces the purest men of the nation as 'whelps of sin,' he teaches us, along with a host of other lessons, this lesson beside—that no work has dignity or sacredness, or is counted a work among men, that is not done with pure intention and broad, humane purpose."

JOHN PIERPONT.

"He was not, for God took him."

ON Sunday, August 26, John Pierpont returned from his last public service, greeted afresh his friends in Medford, began to take up the dropped links of his New England life, and, walking in his garden, talked about the book he would soon send to his friend Sibley at Harvard. On Monday morning he felt a certain chill, without recognizing it as a heavenly messenger, drew a little unusual covering about his faithful feet, folded his arms, closed his eyes, and, with untouched intelligence, passed out of this world. Never before had a morning's sun dawned upon his prostrate figure; and now, when the closed shutter was thrust curiously open, it was evident that, earlier than usual, he had gone to meet the dayspring, and salute it with the music still echoing from his lips at Providence. The golden light crowned the whiteness of his eighty-one years, but woke no responsive gleam in the unruffled eye; did not stimulate him afresh to the daily walk, which had been a martial tramp from the cradle to the grave. A prince had fallen in our national household. For two days he lay in state, and now we had met to bury him. "Carry me to Medford when I fall, and let Brother Brooks say a prayer over me," was all the direction he had ever given. Years ago, he bought a lot on the old Thatcher farm, which he had known as "Sweet Auburn" while at College; but when the new cemetery was opened near the Medford church, and his wife died, he transferred his proprietorship. We shall yet meet to speak a prouder eulogy; but though many grateful and loving hearts came together in his old church, the murky heat of dog-days had scattered the scholars and the clergy, who would fain have done him reverence.

At the house, where the body lay apparently in a sweet sleep, we hushed our footsteps lest we should disturb him. A beautiful wreath of maiden-hair and heliotrope lay upon the coffin-lid. Brother Brooks read the desired prayers, for the comforting of near kindred, and then we bore him to the church where he last ministered; and of all the brave and stalwart souls who had shared his struggle and knew the secrets of his life, only a half-dozen or so could be gathered by a hasty summons to this last service. The Rev. Mr. Towne read the Scripture, and then Caleb Stetson, who had also known what it is to battle for freedom, stood up, with faltering lips, to do him honor. But if years have somewhat diminished his fervor, admiring affection kindled it afresh, and he poured forth a heart-felt testimony to the noble soul whose worn-out, or, rather, whose deserted garment lay just now beneath the white wreaths of the sanctuary. It was of a strange life he told us—of one bred a lawyer, shirking his uncongenial duties to enter commercial life, encountering failure, and with a wife and children going out of a comfortable home to a single dreary room, without the means to buy a loaf of bread. At last his partner discovered his retreat. "Here is money," he said; "our creditors do not expect us to starve. Use it till some arrangement can be made." "Never will I touch a dollar," retorted the manly soul, "till it comes to me from the proper authorities," and in the two or three days that this penury lasted, he wrote the "Airs of Palestine," and taking the book to a publisher, received in exchange $500, and then he made a change of base. The undergraduates of Cambridge, of whom Mr. Stetson was one, at this time watched a stately and brilliant stroller on the College Green. They called him the "Great Unknown." In less than a year he vanished, and they found him in the desk at Hollis street. Though he succeeded Dr. Holley, a man whose pulpit accomplishments were the wonder of his age, no one ever heard any disparaging comparisons. He was of marvellous industry, and he soon made school-books, took out patents, yet did not lose his clerical rank. For more than a generation he was the leading philanthropist of his time. No need to tell a Boston audience how his was the first strong voice raised for temperance; yet it must go on record that, when he lifted it, he risked his all! Men were rooted in their parishes in those days; they did not drift about like fallen leaves; yet his position, conflicting with the largest moneyed interest the city could show on the other side, split the church through its very centre. You remonstrated. "I will stand in a free pulpit, or I will stand in none," he answered; and when his position was taken, it was taken without swerving, against slavery as well. There never lived the man nor body of men who could silence John Pierpont—not Grant, nor Andrew Johnson, nor the army of the Union behind both. And when the victory was gained, he resigned his position of his own free will. It was not wilfully that he fought in sore anguish this great battle. He knew that it was for truth and posterity. And what did not his stern spirit achieve? Who can tell how much of it went into this last great war? into the very Proclamation of Emancipation? will echo through the songs of the freedmen, if they shall ever be permitted to sing them? Many interests claimed him as his life went on, of which there is no need to speak. Each one found him fearless, manly, steadfast, willing to risk his life for what he believed to be true. He loved all men, even the colored man.

"So he did," said an emphatic voice, and those who looked quickly saw that a man, whose life stretched back to the time when the voice of Channing was as yet unheard, Charles Cleveland, now in his ninety-third year, had crept up the pulpit stairs, staying his deaf ear near the speaker, and now echoed his words.

"So he did," repeated Mr. Stetson. "We talk of a hero. What need have I to recall his faults, if faults he had? What Carlyle said of Burns was true of him. We must measure the delinquent tangent against the size of the orbit. If it is large enough, the two will all but coincide. The sarcasm and sharpness of his earlier life was but the sign of his power. Men feared it because it cut so deep; but this power was always wielded for the truth. God will not soon give us such another. I do not say He never will; but a man of great genius, of unwearied industry, of facile and versatile power, with the make of a soldier—when shall he come again? When the war broke out, he would serve his country in the field; but the exposure was too great for three score and ten. The Secretary gave him the fifteen folio volumes of the State Records to codify. He condensed them into one small volume, and furnished an index to the whole. Such a work was never before finished by a man of eighty. Then the government gave him a clerkship, which he held till last Sunday. He lost hold of life by no slow decay; it was cut *square off*, as he himself was apt to cut things, and it was an end he would have contemplated with pleasure. He not only fought the battle, but inspired the conflict with his song. Who shall say what heights he might have reached had he given himself to poetry alone? Certainly some verses, thoroughly wrought but easily written, have slipped from his pen, which will endure so long as our language shall be spoken. A man of genius—no one will deny it. But he has gone, no more to move in this way, or in any other way, the world in which he lived."

Mr. Stetson looked down into the coffin for a moment, and then Dr. Gannett offered prayer. At the last, Charles Cleveland lifted his aged hands. "May we all have grace to say with him and Jesus," he prayed, "'I have finished the work that Thou gavest me to do.'"

It was a mistake to sing the hymn which begins, "Servant of God, well done," for it refers to an aged man. John Pierpont died young, though he left children that the world calls old. His harness was on, his step strong, his voice cheery. Only the last year had a growing deafness shut out the over-intrusive world. Mr. Stetson might well say that it mattered little to one who had thought and read so much. And so we carried him out of the church, and laid beneath the oaks the body that was so stamped with beauty. We could scarce bear to leave it. It is rare death touches and does in no sense destroy; but God cared even for the worn vesture of this faithful soul. It kept, till we lost sight of it, the impress of its high lineage. We prayed for the wife whose noble privilege it was to make serene and happy the last nine years of his life. But she will not need our prayers! Very soon the memory of this translation to the heavenly day will be to his fair life, which his lips had never sullied with a lie, as the many-colored tints of the memorial-window to the ancient chapter-house—a charm no stern iconoclast would spare, and which the poet would beseech of Heaven as its last and crowning grace. C. H. D.

Boston, August 29, 1866.

OCCASIONAL CORRESPONDENCE.

BRATTLEBORO, Vt., August, 1866.

To the Editor of the Standard:

THE Valley of the Connecticut has won merited eulogies from the tourist, the agriculturist, and the political economist. It has been said that it contains more thrift, material prosperity, moral and intellectual culture, and true equality, *i. e.*, equality of opportunity for the full exercise of the talents of all the population, and, as a natural result of this, a nearer approach to equality of wealth than can be found in the same number of square miles in any other part of the world. Its level fields and fertile soil respond to the farmer's labor readily enough for the abundant supply of his needs, but not freely enough to promote a life of luxurious ease. How much of this prosperity, this culture, this *real democracy*, are results of the *character* of New England's founders, who "builded better than they knew," and wrought out for their posterity a degree of religious liberty which many of them sought for themselves only; and what might have been the results had these hills and valleys been peopled by the descendants of a different class of men and women, impelled hither by no high aim or purpose, are questions suggestive of much thought. The fertility of the soil of New England has certainly never been a theme upon which even her warmest admirers have grown eloquent, yet her sterile rocks have really proved more fruitful than the richest valleys of the Great West, if it be true that they suggested a more promising field of labor in the schoolhouse, now the pride of New England. But there is little sterility in this beautiful Valley of the Connecticut which receives continual tribute from the hills and mountains, between which the river rolls along its winding course. And there *is* the schoolhouse. This symbol of New England's power meets the traveller's eye, not only in the busy town and quiet village, but in the most secluded and apparently deserted places; perhaps on some lonely hillside—the only token that farms once flourished around it before the richer valley tempted their owners to forsake them.

Among the ornaments of the river is the beautiful village of Brattleboro. The steep, high hills around it form a perfect nest in which it lies cosily; and as you drive along the brow of one of these hills, you look down upon the house tops and the little forest of trees which seems from that point of view to fill its streets. More distant hills of Vermont and New Hampshire furnish it with a panorama of soft verdure in these Summer months, of splendor in the glowing Autumn, and of snow-crowned summits in the long, cold Winter. The country in the immediate vicinity of the village is exquisitely beautiful. The guide-books speak the truth when they say that "a new drive can be taken every day for nearly a month, without going outside of a radius of four miles, and all of them having peculiar features of interest." It is no marvel that the place is a favorite resort of Summer travellers. Dr. Wesselhœft's Water Cure, established here twenty years ago, has given some fame to Brattleboro, and attracted many persons hither. The Water Cure has ceased to exist; and the building, occupied as a boarding-house, is usually filled with guests in the Summer.

The Vermont Asylum for the insane, superintended by Dr. Wm. H. Rockwell, is a wealthy institution, occupying extensive buildings and very beautiful grounds situated in a pleasant spot on the outskirts of this village. Besides the Public High School and those of lower grade, there is a military and classical school for boys; and a large academy for girls in West Brattleboro, two miles distant, has sufficient reputation to number at present three or four hundred pupils.

But Brattleboro is probably better known through its manufactures, which are remarkable for their variety in a town of 4,000 inhabitants. The principal manufacturing trade is in melodeons. Paper and sewing silk are also made here; and here is an establishment for building the machines by which paper is manufactured. Of these latter mills there are only four in the United States.

It is scarcely necessary to say of a flourishing New England town that it is abundantly supplied with churches of various denominations. How faithful their pulpits have been to practical Christianity, during the last thirty years, when such fidelity required true moral heroism, and when a minister who declared the whole

Gospel of Christ to this slaveholding nation was in danger of losing his pulpit, I do not know. My acquaintance with them enables me to speak of only one of these pulpits : that of the Unitarian Church founded in 1832. Its first pastor, Rev. Addison Brown, was a man who regarded it as his duty to preach against popular sins and in advocacy of unpopular righteousness, whether men would hear, or whether they would forbear. His anti-slavery teaching displeased some of his congregation, and his faithful advocacy of the Temperance cause was a greater offence in their eyes ; and the result was his resignation of the pastorate. Doubtless the good seed which he planted and watered has in later years produced fruit after its kind ; as such faithful sowing during those dark days, in many another field, has done. The present occupant of the pulpit is Rev. Frederick Frothingham, whose name is well known to many of your readers ; and to them it is unnecessary to say that the Gospel which he preaches is no respecter of persons, and that the word which the highest needs of the hour demands will be the word which his people will hear.

The prevalent moral tone of the community in this region would refresh one who should come here disheartened by the vice of crowded cities, the corruption of political parties, and the frivolities of fashionable life. Not that it is by any means a paradise regained ; but here, as in many another happy village of our Northern States, the standard of honesty and integrity condemns and banishes customs and practices which are tolerated as matters of course, if not approved, by the masses of the people in our great marts of commerce. I am credibly informed that office-holders here are *expected* to be true to their trusts ; and that candidates for office would not venture upon the dishonest schemes for promoting their election, so common among politicians.

In the farm-houses scattered over this region you find illustrated that true American independence which combines the manual labor of the house, the garden, and the field (lightened by all the appliances of modern machinery), with the education of the intellect and the indulgence of artistic tastes. In such an atmosphere the domestic and social virtues flourish. Whether this intelligent and favored community are satisfied with this limit of development, or whether they expand their minds and hearts to grasp the great problems of national life, and make the interests of humanity their own ; whether they could bear that test of Christian character which has so often revealed the hollowness of American religion—the presence among them, in considerable number, of the colored race ; whether, in short, they account the maintenance of a righteous principle, in its universal application, of more importance than their domestic security and peace, are questions involving the future welfare of the State of which they are justly proud.

Of the voting population, nine-tenths are Republican. Although the Democratic tenth never elect their candidate, they always go through the preliminary forms. Judge Poland, who received a few days ago the Republican nomination for Representative in Congress, is practically elected. It is understood that Mr. Morrill, at present in the House, is to be sent to the Senate. Poland's nomination gives satisfaction to the radical Republicans here.

Two weekly newspapers are published in this place, the Vermont *Record*, and the *Village Phœnix ;* the latter is edited by Rev. Addison Brown, whose editorship is security for its fidelity to the cause of human rights.

How long the inhabitants of this village and its beautiful suburbs will retain their present purity of morals, and simplicity of taste ; how soon they will be injuriously affected by the tide of fashion which annually surges in upon them, during the Summer months, leaving, doubtless, each year some traces of its invasion who shall predict ? May they never deteriorate—but ever increase in moral vigor ; sending healthful influences into the nation's life, pure as the breezes which are born from these hills and streams to the surrounding atmosphere.

M. G.

Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 10, 1866.

To the Editor of the Standard :

MORE than my pen can tell transpired in our city last week. From Monday noon to Saturday night there seemed to be a continuous chain of words and acts, preparation and doing, all pointing to the overthrow of wrong and injustice, the welfare of pleading humanity, and the establishment of true principles throughout the land, for the benefit and enjoyment of all its inhabitants. In many respects it may be said to have been a glorious week, the prophecy and harbinger of a better career for our country, when peace shall reign, justice declare her triumph, and good-will predominate.

I cannot tell all that happened, nor refer to all that was said and done. That would be a task defying the effort. You will have your own comments to make upon the action of the Convention—your praise for what was praiseworthy, and strictures for its shortcoming. Whatever that is good and noble, wise and worthy, be found embodied in the Address and Resolutions, as the exposition of the sentiments of the members collectively, it may be said most emphatically that they fall below their individual thought and will, desire and aspiration. Whilst their speeches were fired by the true zeal, and animated by that uncompromising spirit which accepts the paramount requirement of the hour, their official action halted behind these in deference to that inevitable tyrant—expediency. Gov. Brownlow, for instance, while supporting heartily the results of their labors, incorporating no resolve in favor of negro suffrage, declared that that he was an advocate thereof. Senator Willey likewise stated that negro suffrage was no bugbear to him, and that he was heart and hand with the friends of that measure. Many other members openly expressed themselves in its favor, and their sentiments never failed to awaken the most unmistakable signs of approval. Under such circumstances it is no wonder that Frederick Douglass asked them why they did not boldly promulgate their convictions.

All honor to the courage and consistency of the members from the un-reconstructed States, who so powerfully and so persistently, without fear and without reserve, declared themselves unqualifiedly in favor of giving the ballot to the black man, and published it to the world. They regard this consummation as of primary importance, second to no other consideration, the great need and pressing necessity of the time, and the all-sufficient remedy for the evils and the dangers of the hour. In their own language, "it will lead to an enduring pacification, because based on the eternal principles of justice. It is a policy which will finally regenerate the South itself, because it will introduce and establish there a divine principle of moral politics, which, under God's blessing, will, in elevating humanity, absorb and purify the unchristian hate and selfish passions of men. It will bless those who give as well as those who receive. It will be the crowning act of glory to our free Republic, and when done will be received, as was received the act of emancipation, with joy and praise throughout the world, as the final realization of the promises of the Declaration of American Independence."

It is probable that nothing has contributed so much towards dispelling the prejudice against color as the events of last week. The position of Mr. Douglass and of Mr. Randolph, the colored delegate from Louisiana, was such as to banish much of the disfavor with which their race is regarded. Especially gratifying it is, to contemplate the kind and flattering manner with which the former was received, whether at the hall of the Convention, at the Union League House, or among the people. Whenever he spoke he was greeted with fervent applause. Wherever he appeared a cordial welcome awaited him, and no man among us was more honored than he. Truly, we are advancing step by step towards the recognition of the principles of equality and fraternity, and every popular mark of respect voluntarily bestowed upon a colored citizen is an encouraging sign of the times.

The prominent feature of the week was the meeting of Wednesday evening. It was a magnificent and remarkable demonstration, without a parallel in American politics. It was the subject of general congratulation, eliciting wonder and astonishment, and calling forth every token of enthusiastic admiration. Its huge numbers glowed with the keen warmth of absorbing zeal ; they were thrilled with the ecstacy of sanguine hope, and jubilant with the prospect of coming victory. As Miss Dickinson said in her speech, "bells rang, cannon thundered, thousands gathered in the streets, enthusiasm went on from point to point and height to height, until it culminated on Wednesday night in the hundreds of thousands that made heaven re-echo with their shouts, and brought daylight into night at the bidding of those Southern men." Gov. Fletcher eulogized the mighty host by calling it the greatest multitude ever gathered on the American continent. Gen. Carl Schurz pronounced it superior in magnitude to the army of the Potomac, or that other host which swept in triumph across to the sea. Mr. Speed compared its numbers to the sands on the sea-shore, the leaves of the forest, or the number of times that Andrew Johnson has said "I" during his pilgrimage.

That a volume of golden thoughts and wholesome opinions were in the keeping of that eloquent throng! How they gave back in oft-repeated outbursts of transport the noble utterances of Radical souls as the sublime words fell upon their ears! What a whirlwind of withering scorn was locked up there, ever and anon gushing forth like smothered flame at the mention of Andrew Johnson's odious name in some culpable or atrocious connection, and ready at the opportune moment to aid in sweeping into the open jaws of defeat and dismay that wretched relic of barbarism, and purify the earth's fair face of his villainous influence.

It was, indeed, glorious and gratifying to see and to know how these masses of earnest men welcomed radical truth. Their applause would rise to the highest point of tumultuous uproar in joyous response to the most progressive exposition of political doctrine. Reform is written on their hearts, justice possesses their will, and national health is one of their chief objects of desire. Men are becoming stronger. They are growing wiser. The great revolution fast progresses. It will not wait upon the procrastination dictated by expediency. The leaders will be left behind. Truth has become its own impelling force, and justice is impatient of delay.

The week, so momentous and replete with grand energies, closed with a masterly and profound speech in National Hall by Gen. Carl Schurz. Every sentence was weighty with substance from the rich mine of thought, and glowed with the inspiration of the times. Alas for Andrew Johnson when his ways and works, utterances, worth and policy come within the crucible of a mind like this! The man might as well be nowhere as the victim of such analysis.

All in all it was a grand and glorious week, a great link in the march of advancement, the index of a majestic feature, and it has given the nation a new and holy promise of redemption.

W.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, September 8, 1866.

A CLERICAL friend of Theodore Hook, seeing him one Sunday at church, asked him after service how he liked the sermon. The wit, who had heard the same discourse once before, answered with an aspect of warm approval, "Very much, indeed ; I always did like that sermon!" It has been well said that President Johnson's admirers may appropriately remember this anecdote when they are praising any particular speech of his. The addresses are painfully monotonous both in form and substance, their only variety being brought out by unseemly interruptions, queries and comments, by individuals among the audience, to which the President replies in stump-speaker fashion, seeming to find that rough sort of colloquy easier and more natural than the manner usually thought appropriate for a high official personage. "My Policy" is the constant theme, and rough jokes, a descent to that sort of familiarity which breeds contempt, are the only variations. Gen. Grant makes no speeches, but gets all the honors and applauses. The President always mounts the stump, yet always says, and always repeats, that he is not going to make a speech, even when he pours out trivial talk enough to fill a newspaper column.

Gen. Grant resembles, in one respect, the author of Ecce Homo. Holding a very conspicuous position, and speculated upon and guessed about by everybody, each keeps the secret of his real preference, and each probably enjoys the fun of seeing himself confidently claimed by two opposite parties. In both cases we must wait for the solution ; but if Gen. Grant is so much of a man as common repute bespeaks him, the results of this journey must show him that he can do better than act as a bob to President Johnson's kite.

It appears that Henry Ward Beecher has thought it needful to write a long epistle in explanation of his Cleveland letter. It is announced as to appear in your papers this morning, but the enterprising editor of the Boston *Journal* has given his readers the material portion of it at the same date. So far as these portions enable me to judge, the present letter seems as foolish as the former was mischievous.

If the *Journal's* report is correct, we have the singular spectacle of a great popular leader, generally reputed an extremist, deliberately taking a seat on the fence. He accepts the President's policy with modifications, and thinks that "a middle course, between the President's and that of Congress, would be wiser than either." While the real friends of freedom are trying to bring Congress up to the point of doing justice to Southern loyalists, black and white, and saving the republic from danger by the *arts*, no less than by the arms, of notorious secessionists, Mr. Beecher wishes to get yet nearer to the traitor-pardoning President than Congress is ; to split the difference between them !

As to Mr. Johnson, Mr. Beecher says that we must, as Christian citizens, credit him with his real excellencies, and then proceeds to name under this head certain qualities which Johnson had, or seemed to have, a year or two ago, but which he has since openly and notoriously discarded. What do we care for his "*original* horror of secession," now that he is taking the representatives of secession to his bosom and carrying out their purposes in his policy? What is it to us that he *once* proposed to make treason odious, and to punish traitors, when his policy calls forth the applause of A. H. Stephens, and when the Boston *Post* and *Courier* (I mean *Evening Commercial*) join in heaping laudation upon him?

Mr. Beecher's reasons for restoring State power to men who, though defeated, retain their preference for secession and slavery, are puerile and ludicrous. No earthly power, he says, can compel the Southern whites to treat the negroes justly. Is that a reason for affording additional facilities to treat them *unjustly*? But he proceeds immediately to say that if we restore to these people their power (a power used, be it remembered, as long as they had it, to maintain and extend slavery), "then the negro will be felt to be necessary to Southern industry, and interest will join with conscience and kindness in securing for him favorable treatment from his fellow-citizens!" Think of such stuff as this being written by the same Beecher who sent Sharpe's rifles to the men of Kansas, to use against the very class of men in whose behalf he is now speaking! No one knows better than he that the "interest" of the slaveholder never gave the slave security against abuse ; that the existence of a feeling among white men that the negro is "necessary to Southern industry" will no more protect him against serfdom now than it did against slavery before the war ; that Southern "conscience and kindness" on this subject are plainly enough set forth by the massacres of negroes at Memphis and New Orleans ; and that the reports which daily come to us from all parts of the South, show that these instances fairly represent the general feeling, and that nothing will fire the Southern heart and nerve the Southern hand more promptly than the very idea of making the negro a voter, a political equal, or anything above a permanently subordinate person, a hewer of wood and drawer of water!

Mr. Beecher was supremely impressed, he tells us, with the conviction "that the whole problem of reconstruction would practically pivot on the harmony of Mr. Johnson and Congress," and that "such great changes required two things, viz., promptness and unity of counsels." To secure these, he tells us, he bent his whole strength. Who would have thought that the pastor of Plymouth Church would have forgotten a third thing, of indispensable necessity to any permanent reconstruction of the South—the inauguration of *justice* there! If Congress had joined in the President's policy, we should have had Mr. Beecher's two essentials, "promptness and unity," and the negro, just escaped from his "owner," would have had a "master" inevitably imposed upon him. No reconstruction will avail of which justice and liberty are not ingredients. Instead of striking a balance between the President and Congress, both these powers (and, alas, the people themselves) need to be brought up to the conviction that it is oppression which has brought on our national troubles, and that only reformation can save us. Secession and civil war were brought upon us by slavery, and we *must* have actual and thorough freedom before permanent peace can return. It would be possible to make this change merely as a measure of policy, merely from recognition of the advantage of it, without caring for justice, without caring for the negro. Even this change would be a great improvement ; yet the Abolitionist and the really *Christian* Minister demand more, namely, repentance for sin, and reform based upon a love of right. But the Pastor of Plymouth Church seems to think that our troubles can be healed without either justice in the character or freedom in the policy. He would give power to the ex-slaveholder, remaining at heart a tyrant, and would trust to *his* "conscience and kindness" the future of the freed men and women in the South!

But the most amusing part of Mr. Beecher's letter is yet to be mentioned. We know what his position *was* in the Kansas times, when the friends of slavery, North and South, gnashed their teeth upon him as they did upon Parker and Phillips. We have heard the shout of exultation with which the same set of people, North and South, have greeted the doctrine of his Cleveland letter ; and the lamentation of the friends of freedom over the same document. It really seemed as if there was a difference between the Kansas Beecher and the Cleveland Beecher. But the explanatory letter enlightens us. Mr. Beecher claims for his past career the credit of "undeviating consistency!" And he sums up in this thorough-going manner : "As I look back upon my course I see no deviation from that straight line which I have made without wavering for now thirty years of public life, in favor of justice, liberty, and the elevation of the poor and ignorant."

After this we may agree that wonders will never cease. Probably Mr. Beecher has really succeeded in placing himself in such a position before his own mental eye as to see in his course "undeviating consistency!" Perhaps the editor of the *Tribune* takes a similar view of himself! and the editor of the *Times* of *himself!* We have good ground for believing that "it is not in man that walketh to direct his steps." It is equally plain that it is not in man that sitteth down and writeth to *describe* his own path. To know one's self yet remains the highest attainment of human wisdom.

NORTH.

LETTER FROM AMY POST.

ROCHESTER, Sept. 3, 1866.

To the Editor of the Standard :

PERMIT me, through the columns of your paper, to say a word of the great treat we have had, in the company and public teaching of those gifted and earnest reformers, Col. N. W. and Cora L. V. Daniels. She, the well-known eloquent trance-speaker, was with us three successive Sundays, speaking twice on each. It has seldom, if ever, been my privilege to listen to so chaste, logical and persuasive reasoning, touching all the individual, domestic, religious and political needs of our present time. Her abhorrence of the oppressor, her appeals for the equal rights of the negro and woman, were such as would seem could not fail to create a strong moral fermentation, *unless we are dead.*

The Colonel spoke in Rochester only once in public, and then to the colored people, toward whom he entertains the highest respect, based upon his large experience with them as citizens, as well as officers and privates of his regiment. He dwelt eloquently upon their power and loyal worth as soldiers.

The meeting was held in Zion's Church, the only church in Rochester which is always free to reformers ; and it was fearful to hear those walls resound with such a general outburst of sympathy and indignant feeling as the Colonel proceeded with his eloquent and faithful delineation of the horrors of the late New Orleans massacre, and of the imminent perils of the present hour.

May these earnest reformers remain in this field of much-needed labor, and receive that recognition by our Anti-Slavery friends which they so richly deserve!

Allow me to add that Frederick Douglass has been elected a delegate by acclamation to the Philadelphia Convention by the Republicans of our city. Truly, it was a surprising event to us, for we lately heard him make a speech in their club-room, where he placed himself upon a "much higher platform," using his own words, than theirs—embracing full and impartial right of suffrage for the negro.

If it does nothing more, it has certainly removed the hitherto very doubtful status of the Rochester Republican party on the color question.

AMY POST.

LITERARY.

Ticknor and Fields, Boston, announce for publication this Autumn, a fine series, among which we notice the following :

In September : "The Biglow Papers." By James Russell Lowell. Second Series. 1 vol. 16mo.—"The Yankee in Canada." By Henry D. Thoreau. 1 vol. 16mo. Uniform with "Walden," etc.

In October : "The Diamond Tennyson." A new and complete edition of Tennyson's poems, in one beautiful volume. Morocco cloth. $1 25.—"The Picture of St. John." By Bayard Taylor. 1 vol. 16mo.—"The Prose Writings of John G. Whittier." Comprising "Literary Recreations," "Old Portraits and Modern Sketches," "Margaret Smith's Journal," etc. New Stereotype edition.—"The Poetical Works of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow." New and revised electrotype edition. Complete in 4 volumes, in the style of Tennyson, Farringford edition.

Littell's Living Age, for Sept. 8, contains, from the London *Review*, an article on Charles Algernon Swinburne's new book of Ballads and Poems, in which that poet is terribly taken to task for the same fault to which we recently alluded, in criticising his "Les Noyades,' reprinted from advance sheets in *Every Saturday.* We have not yet seen the book ; but, from what we know of its author's works, the judgment of the *Review* is likely to be none too severe. We are glad to learn from the utterances of the British journals on this subject that, while the British public seem to be eager enough to pay for a spicy pabulum, they are also ready to be lectured about it ; and that the literary taste of our cousins is, therefore, to be set down as a little more rigid than Mr. Swinburne's popularity led us to suppose.

Blackwood, for August, has a cleverly-written, but flippant, and—for a magazine of the reputed character of that concerned—undignified string of verses, lampooning John Stuart Mill and his works. The extreme partisan spirit of this periodical is illustrated in its giving room to such a production, which, with the artful insertion of a little indigenous slang, the *Sunday Mercury* need not be ashamed to reprint. "The New Ministry" —a Tory apology for the unfortunate makeshift of retrogression thus called—will be read with interest, for obvious reasons.

The *Herald of Health*, for this month, again appears with sundry noted names in its list of contributors—among them, Moses Coit Tyler, P. T. Barnum, Henry Ward Beecher, Theodore Tilton, G. W. Bungay.

The *Herald of Health* has the good manner of coming to us and the public ready *trimmed* at the margin—thus saving labor and vexation unspeakable to nervous folk. We rejoice thus to see it take care of its readers health even in minutiæ, by taking care of their comfort.

The *Phrenological Journal*, for September, gives phrenological characters, with portraits, of Joseph Sturge and Horace Vernet, and portraits of Queen Emma, Count Bismark, Archduke Albert and others. A series of illustrations with Esop's Fables appear in the *Journal.*

Croquet-players will be interested in an elaborate illustrated article on their game, in *Every Saturday*, for Sept. 1, from *London Society.*

Three separate and distinct requests were forwarded from Raleigh, by the Judge-Advocate of the Bureau Court-Martial, to the Secretary of War, that the attendance of Gens. Steedman and Fullerton and clerks could be obtained as witnesses for the government in the prosecution against freedmen's officers. Secretary Stanton replied that they could not be spared. The request has been renewed in the cases of civilians which this Court, now turned into a Commission, is trying.

This is the way that candidates for State offices in Richmond, Va., advertise themselves ; it is a beautiful example of reconstruction : "Judge Crump, it is said, gave $3,000 to the Confederacy. Mr. Gilmer gave four years of his life and risked the whole. Who gave most? Let the soldiers answer at the polls."

SUMMARY.

THE LOYAL CONVENTIONS.

PHILADELPHIA, during the Convention week, abounded in auxiliary public meetings, processions, speeches, banquets, flags and music, all of which that is not described by our correspondents and the daily press, we must leave to the imagination of our readers to depict.

To attempt giving even a summary of the official proceedings would be, did the limits of our space not forbid it, still a needless task. The leading traits of the affair are easily understood—more easily, the more they are divested of its verbiage.

On the 3d and 4th inst., the Convention, being composed of delegates from all the Southern States (although the call had contemplated a meeting of delegates from the "unreconstructed" States only) organized, with ex-Attorney-Gen. Speed, of Kentucky, as Chairman, and a list of Vice-Presidents including John Minor Botts, of Virginia, who several times presided. Upwards of 400 members were present. The delegates sent by various Northern States to assist in the proceedings were not admitted except as spectators.

On the 5th, the struggle on the suffrage question, which had already commenced on the day previous, broke out in violent and unparliamentary utterances at times, and the prospect of a harmonious solution was very slight. Meanwhile, however, the Northern and Border State Republicans present, in and out of the Committee-rooms, had so far manipulated the Unconditional-Equality men of the far South, who comprised the moral force and nucleus of the Convention, that an address and resolutions were brought in on the fourth day, indorsing the Congressional policy and ignoring negro suffrage except in very general allusions. To this report the large minority of the Committee—including its Chairman, Gov. Hamilton of Texas—who were in favor of negro enfranchisement, consented, on the express promise, made to them by the majority, that they should have an opportunity to express their views afterward. But no sooner had the documents been reported to the Convention than they were adopted under the operation of the previous question, whereby debate was cut off. Soon thereafter, a motion for final adjournment was pressed ; but, after being addressed by Miss Dickinson and Mr. Douglass, during a recess, and after a fiery and determined appeal from Gov. Hamilton of Texas, reminding them of their pledges, and threatening them with an exposure of their action, the politicians so far relaxed as to allow the Convention to meet once more and receive the Report of the "Committee on the Non-reconstructed States," appointed on the second day of the Convention. At the same time, it was declared by resolution that none but the members from the "non-reconstructed States" should act on, and be responsible for, the Report (while the original appointment of the Committee had constituted it an instrument of the entire Convention, entitled to the same consideration at its hands as the Committee on Resolutions, who had reported the first Address). But the members from the disorganized States were so glad of having any opportunity to enjoy their right to be heard before the (nominally) *full* Convention, that they readily consented to this compromise.

Accordingly, on the fifth day (Sept. 7), an address, embodying a direct demand for negro suffrage, was read, and adopted by a vote of the delegates from the unreconstructed section—66 Yeas, and 11 Nays.

The Committee, from the nature of its instructions, was not empowered to report resolutions ; therefore their report, or "address," is the only official utterance of the Convention in favor of Equal Rights to All.

During the reading and adoption of this address, the President and one Vice-President of the Convention, as before named, successively withdrew, and they, as well as other members from the Border States, took especial pains to disclaim all responsibility for the action of the true Southern men. John Minor Botts was particularly prolix in establishing his "position" by a string of conservative resolutions which he wished the Convention to adopt, but which were rejected. Many Border State delegates had left the previous evening, so that, practically, we have before us the work of two bodies : a Border Convention, which sat during the first four days, and a true Southern Convention, which sat on the fifth. Members of each were present at, and partially gave their consent to, the proceedings of the other ; and nominally the entire five days' work was that of a continuous body : but still, we have, as a matter of fact, two expressions of opinion—one, under the outside pressure of Northern politicians, from the States which in 1861–63 hampered the progress of emancipation ; and one, the untrammeled declaration of the true men of the South, who alone stood, a small band, with the negroes in their single-handed loyalty during the rebellion, and who now propose standing with their co-patriots of that hour in the present struggle for Impartial Justice.

The essential portions of the two Addresses are given on our first page ; while we append the two essential points of the resolution adopted by the Border Convention on the fourth day :

The Committee on Resolutions beg leave to submit the following resolutions, embodying the views of the majority of the committee which, do not contain all the views and principles of the minority of the committee, but who in a generous spirit, have united in submitting this report.

* * * * * * * *

Resolved, That with pride in the patriotism of the Congress, with gratitude for the fearless and persistent support they have given to the cause of loyalty, and their efforts to restore all the States to their former condition as States in the American Union, we will stand by the positions taken by them, and use all means consistent with a peaceful and lawful course to secure the ratification of the amendments to the Constitution of the United States, as proposed by the Congress at its recent session, and regret that the Congress, in its wisdom, did not provide by law for the greater security of the loyal people in the States not yet admitted to representation.

* * * * * *

Resolved, That the organization of the unrepresented States, assuming to be State governments, not having been legally established, are not legitimate governments until recognized by Congress.

* * * * *

The following resolution was, by Gov. Hamilton, Thos. J. Durant, and others, urged on the Committee, but was by the majority expunged from the report before its being submitted to the Convention :

Resolved, That the Congress of the United States, in the exercise of its sovereign prerogative, as the law-making power of the Republic, be hereby solemnly solicited by and in behalf of the loyal people of the South, as a measure equally just in itself, expedient at the present time and indispensable to our future protection and happiness, to prescribe and exact as a necessary condition of restoration, the adoption by the States lately in rebellion, of the rule of impartial suffrage for all classes of their citizens without distinction of color.

As the members from the organized States were, by the action of the Border State majority, precluded from voting on the true Southern Address, Col. C. E. Moss, of Missouri, read the following :

We, the undersigned, delegates from the beautiful valley region of Middle Tennessee, whose soil is dotted over with the graves of the martyrs of freedom—graves that look into our very windows—a region crowded with defenceless black men, hundreds of whom have borne honorable part in defence of American nationality and liberty—coming as delegates from this region, more than a thousand miles away, and in view of our constituence, we cannot either be silent or subscribe to a half-way expression of opinion. The dumb eloquence of these honored graves and the defenceless condition of white and black loyalists there plead in trumpet tones in favor of negro suffrage. We therefore desire to concur in the report of the non-reconstructed States in this respect, and to add our testimony to theirs in an appeal to the Christian heart of the country in favor of what, in our opinion, alone will bring true peace to the South and assist to establish the government of man.

Signed by S. C. Mercer, of Tennessee ; Samuel W. Arnell, of Tennessee ; James H. Gregory, of Tennessee ; John Ruhm, of Tennessee ; C. E. Moss, of Missouri.

GENERAL NEWS.

Gen. Sheridan has temporarily been appointed Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau at New Orleans.—Gov. Wells's proclamation, authorizing an election of delegates to the Constitutional Convention of Louisiana on the 3d inst., has been disregarded. No election was held.—The Military Commission that have been in session for two months, to try Major Gee, the rebel commandant of Salisbury prison, for cruelty, etc., have acquitted him of that charge—laying the blame on the rebel government and accusing him merely of "weakness," in retaining the position. Gen. Robinson, commanding the Department, while approving the proceedings, dissents from the mild view of the Commission.—The report of Gen. Baird on the New Orleans massacre has been made public. It confirms what is known as the "Radical" side of the story, and declares that the police force was strong enough to have held both the parties in the streets in subjection, and that "there was no hour during the continuance of the riot, when perfect order could not have been restored, by a command to the police, from its chief, to put up their pistols." We shall try, hereafter, to print some passages from the report.—A Republican National Bureau of Politics has been established at Washington—to be a permanent central headquarters of information to the party. A weekly journal, the *Great Republic*, is to be issued from the office.—The Asylums for Insane, Deaf, Dumb and Destitute Freedmen in Tennessee have been closed, through the neglect of the civil authorities to provide for them, after the institutions had been turned over to them by the Freedmen's Bureau.—The Supreme Court of Michigan has decided that persons with not more than one-fourth black blood should be adjudged white, for voting and other purposes.

The Presidential tour continues. At Bath Creek, Secretary Seward asked the crowd : "Do you want Andrew Johnson President or King?" At another place he announced that the time had come for "guarantees to be demanded" of the Radicals—not of the Rebels. At Indianapolis a disturbance took place, and the attempt of the President to inflict a speech on the crowd was the "occasion" of one man being killed. We do not hear, as yet, that Judge Abell, of Louisiana, has therefore indicted the President for "murder," as the massacred Convention was indicted. The Presidential party has been invited to New Orleans by Mayor Monroe and others.

On the 4th inst., the New York State Council of the Loyal League, at Syracuse,

Resolved, That loyal citizens of the United States, of whatever color, are entitled to at least as much influence and power in the administration of our General government, as acknowledged rebels.

Resolved, That this nation can have no enduring peace until the political power in rebel States is intrusted to the loyal citizens thereof.

Resolved, That it is the duty of the Loyal Leaguers of America to raise their energies in putting down this second rebellion, headed by Andrew Johnson, by the same means they used in putting down the first rebellion, headed by Jeff. Davis.

How much influence this had on the party, may be seen from the following :

On the 5th inst., the State Republican Convention at the same place, after commending the Congressional plan of amending the Constitution, resolved, that, "when any of the late insurgent States shall adopt that amendment, such State should at once, by its loyal Representatives, be permitted to resume its place in Congress." The negro was nowhere remembered in their resolves—not even by implication.

And the New York *Tribune* says : "The Syracuse Convention has done its work quickly and well, and its adjournment has left nothing to regret."

Vermont has elected the Republican State ticket by a majority of about 10,000. Maine has done likewise by about 29,000 majority—said to be a gain of 14,000 over her average for the last eight years. The Legislatures-elect of both States are nearly unanimously Republican.

Henry Ward Beecher has written a second letter, addressed to members of his congregation, and explanatory of that mentioned in our last. The *Tribune* says of it : "It contains a great many words, and is a much longer letter of explanation than that it explains." At the same time, an address was adopted by the members of Plymouth Church, expressing to Mr. Beecher and to the public their entire disapproval of their pastor's present political action.

Those of the Loyal Southern delegates who propose to journey through the North were enthusiastically received, on the 11th inst., at Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, and at Cooper Union, New York. Gov. Brownlow, Senators Fowler and Steward, Messrs. Maynard, Stokes, Moss, and Wilmarth were among the speakers. Gov. Hamilton's hoarseness prevented him from speaking.

The new Constitution of North Carolina, as proposed by President Johnson's State Convention of last Autumn, has been rejected on the popular vote by a majority of 1,982. It prescribed property qualifications of various degrees for voters and legislators, and provided that all voters and public officers must be white (one-eighth of African blood working a forfeiture of race). It contains also the following section :

"No person who shall deny the being of Almighty God, or the divine authority of both the Old and New Testament, or who shall hold religious opinions incompatible with the freedom and safety of the State, shall be capable of holding any office or place of trust or profit in any civil department of the State."

Advertisements.

THE AMERICAN NEWS COMPANY, 121 Nassau street, New York, will supply THE STANDARD to news dealers and others in or out of the city.

THE STANDARD IN BOSTON.—JOHN J. DYER & Co., No. 35 School street, as our agents in Boston, will hereafter receive and forward subscriptions for THE STANDARD, and supply single copies to such as desire.

REMOVAL NOTICE.

The office of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society has been removed from No. 5 South Fifth street, to the old stand, No. 107 North Fifth street, where it was formerly located for upwards of twenty years. Specimen numbers of the ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD furnished and new subscriptions received as above.

BENJAMIN C. BACON, Corresponding Secretary.

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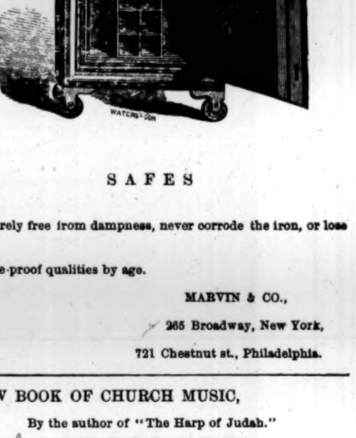

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SOUTHERN AFFAIRS.

THE ATTEMPTED MASSACRE AT BALTIMORE.

THE REBEL ACCOUNT.

From the N. Y. News.

BALTIMORE, Aug. 31.—As far as can be ascertained, the following are the facts in this affair: A white camp-meeting, attended by many ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the North Baltimore District, of which the Rev. Mr. Lanahan is presiding elder, was being held at the place before stated. The Rev. Messrs. Speake, Reid and other white ministers were officiating at a white camp-meeting, near which, under the auspices of the same, some colored people were holding camp exercises also.

During yesterday afternoon a number of young men were noticed in the camp ground, having pistols on their persons. These were, so far as can be ascertained, residents of the surrounding neighborhood. No disturbance occurred during the day; but about midnight, while the colored people were conducting their religious exercises, they were set upon by a gang of men, uttering epithets and imprecations. The attack commenced with the beating of a negro man while on his knees. The negroes at once rose up, and a scene of wild and indescribable excitement ensued—women screaming in terror. Shots were fired by the assailants, but in the dark, and but few are supposed to have taken effect. The colored men rallied and turned upon their assailants, and drove them off two or three times, while the women fled toward the white camp. Many colored people were wounded with clubs, and there were some flesh wounds from pistol shots.

Some of the colored men had pistols, and used them freely upon their assailants, but with what result is not known. Finally the conflict ended, through the persuasion of the white ministers and others, by the colored people leaving the grounds and seeking their homes, leaving their camp to the desperadoes, who further gratified their unmanly spirit by piling the tents and effects of the negroes, including bundles and trunks of clothing, in a heap, and setting fire to the pile, destroyed all.

The white man shot as first mentioned was at prayer at the altar in the white camp where Mr. Speake was conducting the exercises. By whom the shot is fired is not known, but the friends of some of the ministers believe that it was fired by some of the white rioters, who intended it for a prominent Methodist minister. How this may be is impossible to say. Others think it was simply a stray shot, which is very probable. Our informant says the white men certainly began the disturbance, while the colored people were engaged in religious exercises. The assailants are reported to have used various rallying cries, among which was heard the expression, "How about New Orleans!"

There are many exciting and doubtless more or less exaggerated stories circulating about the affair, but the above, as far as can be at present ascertained, seems to be authentic.

ADDITIONAL FROM LOYAL SOURCES.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

During the whole of the evening previous to the assault, the camp abounded with armed men, having clubs as well as pistols; and threats were made by them, not only against the negroes, but against some of the preachers, who were styled "d—d Abolitionists." During the evening numerous efforts were made by these men to get up a fight with the negroes, and before they could accomplish their purpose, a black boy holding a horse, was violently assaulted. Later in the evening a black man was knocked down; watermelon rinds were thrown into the tent where the negroes were worshipping, and burning cigars thrust violently into the faces of some of those who were kneeling in prayer. All this could not get up a riot, and it was not until a stone was hurled against the head of a colored woman, who was knocked prostrate, that the negroes rallied in self-defence, and drove their assailants, who retreated among the white women and children in the camp, and kept up an indiscriminate fire into that portion of the camp devoted to colored people. The object undoubtedly was to break up the whole camp.

* * * * * *

The negroes, at the request of the camp-managers, abandoned all their little property in the camp, consisting of beds, kitchen utensils, and the like, and departed from camp rather than endanger the whites in the camp by consenting to be provoked into a continued conflict with the black-hearted rebels, and that the managers had not the means of protecting the property thus abandoned, even by remonstrance or entreaty, so violent were the acts and threats of the rebel thieves and assassins.

Moreover, when the negroes thrice drove the chivalrous and impenitent rebels before them, the latter invariably retreated within the circle of the white people's tents, so that the white men, women and children might be kept in the danger from which they would have been exempted had the melee been kept outside of the white people's portion of the encampment. It was intended, no doubt, to slay both whites and blacks for the deadly sin, in rebel estimation, of being loyal. Many, I believe most, of the rioters were returned rebel soldiers. I heard them boast of the fact and even name their former regiments, and one of them, who had only a slung-shot in his hand, gave me the pleasant information that he only wished it were the rifle he carried during the war, in which case he would use it as effectually as he did then.

It is undeniable that the Methodist Church of the Border States is the most loyal of their churches, and hence it is the object of rebel hatred and persecution. Preparations for preventing the whites from holding this camp-meeting were made a month or more before the time for its assemblage, the wood which they had selected being stripped of its foliage. Threats were uttered to prevent attendance, and it is quite obvious that the attack on the negroes was intended to prepare the opportunity to attack the whites.

All trustworthy evidence proves both the animus of the rebels and the fact that they persistently tried to provoke the negroes by repeated acts of petty insult and petty violences; and, finding the negroes so much more calmly brave and Christian than themselves, at length, in their rabid rage, resorted to murderous violence upon both negroes and whites, while both were calmly engaged in religious services.

Another correspondent says:

It was evident that murder of blacks was only a part of the arrangement, and that whites were not to have been spared if they made any resistance. Every truly loyal man saw and felt this. A noted rebel from Baltimore took a very active part in trying to get tent-holders involved in the melee with the negroes, for what purpose may be surmised from the fact that all who did not turn out were to be treated as negro sympathizers.

The riot had been planned for some time, from the fact that the rioters came to the ground armed with clubs and revolvers, and for several days previously rebels in this city and in the railroad cars had frequently been heard to say that the camp would be broken up and that there would be fun at the camp-meeting. Arrests of colored men continue to be made by authorities in Anne Arundel county, but none of the white rioters are in custody. The riot took place in Ben. Harris's district, and was, beyond doubt, the work of his constituents.

BUREAU REPORTS AND ORDERS.

REPORT ON MISSISSIPPI.

Gen. Wood, Commissioner for the Bureau in Mississippi, sends a report, of 55 pages, detailing the condition of the freedmen's affairs there.

District Brookhaven—There is a disposition on the part of certain persons to violate their contracts with the freedmen.

District Columbus—The same disposition to take advantage of ignorant freedmen, and discharge them without breach of contract on the freedmen's part, as their services are not so imperative as during the earlier part of the season. The arrangement of the citizens to take in charge the education of the freedmen—owing to the bad character of the persons related, has failed—though another effort will be made. Crime is on the increase, and murders are reported in Noxubee county. A colored man was taken from Mr. Ryles's house, near Palo Alto, and, after being beaten, had his ears cut off and was partially castrated. The civil authorities have not as yet punished the offenders.

At the visit of Gens. Steedman and Fullerton the sub-Commissioner was not allowed to defend himself against the charges made in secret conclave with citizens. No inspection of books or records of the office were made, and no idea of the workings of the Bureau was gained.

District Jackson—A case of murder occurred here which the civil authorities refused to notice. It has been prepared for presentation to the Grand Jury by this office. Cases of attempt to kill and running off of colored men by dogs, etc., are reported: they are being investigated. There is only one school, and that in the city of Jackson.

District Meridian—Gross abuses are still reported.

District Vicksburg—Very many cases of murder and rapine. In Yazoo county a murder and several outrages were committed, and we had to notify Gov. Humphreys to compel the Sheriff to perform his duties. The gangs of desperadoes the civil authorities are slow in noticing, who ought to be driven out of the communities. The schools have closed for the Summer.

ORDER AGAINST FRAUDS ON FREEDMEN.

HEADQ'RS DEPARTMENT OF MISSISSIPPI,
VICKSBURG, Miss., Aug. 16, 1866.

GENERAL ORDERS No. 31.—Information has been received at these headquarters that in various parts of this State parties engaged in planting since the termination of the active work of making the crop, are discharging the freed people whom they had hired for the year without settling fully with them for their previous labor. But if full remuneration were paid to the freed people for their previous labor, it would be gross injustice to drive them away from the plantations after they had made their arrangements for the year, and when they must necessarily be subjected to much privation and suffering by being thus suddenly deprived of a home and support. But the foregoing does not describe the worst form in which this outrage and injustice on the rights of the freed people is reported as being practiced. The majority of the cases in which this outrage is being committed, is where the freed people have been employed to work on shares or for a stipulated part of the crop. Where the freed people have been employed to work for a part of the crop, to discharge them from service and drive them from their homes on the plantations is simply robbery. Such iniquity must excite in the minds of all honest men indignation at the offence and abhorrence of the guilty perpetrators of it. It is believed that only a comparatively small portion of the community can be guilty of practicing such an enormity, and the honest and fair-dealing men are invoked to frown down and suppress the perpetration of it. It requires little foresight to predict, that if the freed people are treated in this way and robbed of the fruits of their labor, they can no longer be depended on to supply the physical force necessary to cultivate the soil, a result the direful effects of which cannot be over-estimated. The commission of such outrages on the rights of the freed people will not be permitted in this department, and in such portions of the State as it may be reported to occur, a military force will be stationed to prevent it.

By order of Maj.-Gen. T. H. J. WOOD.
MARCUS P. BESTOW, Assistant Adj.-Gen.

REPORT ON TEXAS.

GALVESTON, Texas, Aug. 8, 1866.

Maj.-Gen. O. O. HOWARD, Commissioner:

* * It is my belief that, if not destroyed by worm, the cotton crop will be larger than for the past ten years, excepting 1860—and that this result is solely attributable to *free labor*, and the vigor and industry that it incites. The season has been the worst for cotton-raising that has occurred for many years, and notwithstanding the almost constant rains and floods—and overflows, as a consequence—the product of the freedmen's labor will surpass years in which all else was more favorable.

The freedmen in these counties are mostly working for part crop under very favorable contracts, and appear to have a full appreciation of the fact that upon their labor and industry depends their income at the end of the year. I am, however, fearing great trouble in getting an equitable division of the crop for the freedmen. Many men in this State think it no harm to cheat the freedmen out of their just wages on the grounds that their being liberated and taken from them as property was unconstitutional.

The greatest trouble I have in the administration of the affairs of the Bureau of this State consists in protecting the freedmen from lawless violence. Murder and outrage are largely on the increase. Every mail from the interior brings me reports from my agents and other trustworthy sources of information, of murders, from one to five at a time, of negroes.

I am left so powerless to give proper protection, for want of troops to sustain my agents and make arrests, that I grow sick at heart, and wonder at the war power of the government leaving this unfortunate class of people, whom it liberated by force, thus exposed to the violence of a chagrined and life-long enemy.

The only remedy I can suggest is army officers for agents, and troops to sustain them. If in your judgment it is the settled policy of the Executive to leave the Bureau without adequate military protection, I will desist making these official appeals: but, until I am thus informed, I must continue to plead for such force as will make my duties here a reality instead of a farce. The Appropriation bill authorizes the payment of citizen agents now, but I cannot find any who are competent and who can take the oath required. D. B. KIDDOO,
Brevet Maj.-Gen., Assistant Commander.

REPORT ON DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

—Gen. Runkle, commanding the District of Columbia, S. C., reports, under date August 1, that "there are a large number of vagrant freedmen in that district who have broken contracts, avoided work, and committed a number of outrages; but that there is generally a white man at the bottom of all outrages committed by freedmen. On the other hand, vagrant whites are numerous, and outrages upon freedmen of constant occurrence. There is a disposition among planters to drive the negroes from their plantations on the most frivolous charges, at the time when crops are matured and ready for harvesting, thus receiving for themselves the share which would fall to the freedman. The Provost Court is unable to remedy these evils, as the Judge is commanding a company and is Post-Adjutant; and I would recommend the abolishing of the Provost Court, and the establishing of a Freedmen's Court in connection with the Bureau."

THE PROGRESS OF RECONSTRUCTION.

VIRGINIA.

Gen. Terry, some weeks ago, forwarded to Washington an address sent him by a Committee chosen at a mass meeting of colored citizens held in Richmond on June 24, and indorses it as follows:

"The allegations herein contained are unquestionably, to a great extent, true. I know of no remedy for the evil complained of, but the reopening of the Bureau of military courts."

The address states that the meeting was held for the purpose of setting before Gen. Terry their grievances in the fact that the Mayor, police courts, and justices are filled with malignity, prejudiced against them, because they were once slaves. It states:

"We cannot hope for justice until we are represented in the jury-box: but if we cannot get that from civil authorities which will protect our lives and prevent riot, then give us martial law. We ask no class legislation—nothing but that which can be given any American citizen. We ask no special favor, but plead for justice. It is impossible to get an officer to arrest a white man when he has assaulted and beaten a colored man, and difficulties of this nature are always settled by taking the colored man to jail, irrespective of justice. Our former masters protected us from the tyranny at the Mayor's Court, because of our being property: but now we are taxed, made to pay exorbitant rents, and receive scanty wages and all manner of personal abuse."

NORTH CAROLINA.

RALEIGH, N. C., Wednesday, Aug. 1, 1866.

The lately emancipated slaves are again thrown back into the power of the former slaveholders, who still entertain for them feelings of the bitterest malignity. I have heard it boasted here that a white man cannot be convicted on the evidence of 1,000 negroes. The rebel negro-hating spirit is as rampant and intolerant as ever.—*Cor. N. Y. Tribune.*

GEORGIA.

J. B. Powell (citizen), Bureau Surgeon, at Jonesboro, Ga., twenty miles below Atlanta, where the great battle was fought which resulted in the capture of that city, writes: "We shall not raise enough for bread. The freedmen are in a most deplorable condition. They have worked for $7 to $10 per month wages, but the employers, making nothing, are unable to pay them, and they are wandering about the country in search of employment. They are taken sick in numbers, and having no friends or homes, die like the beasts of the forest, no one to care for the soul or body. After consultation with a few of the most prominent citizens of the town, I have concluded to inform you of the state of affairs and to petition for a hospital."

ALABAMA.

—A letter received from a well-known citizen of Alabama, dated Aug. 8, 1866, by Capt. Bingham, Secretary of the Southern Loyalist Conventioners, states:

"I have seen Dr. Stewart of Herd County, who was an Assistant Surgeon in the First Alabama Union Cavalry. He tells me that about three weeks ago he was notified that the presence of a man who had deserted his country and gone to the Yankees was not agreeable to the patriotic Union-loving citizens of Herd County, Ga., and that he would not be allowed to live there; whereupon the Doctor then stated to them that he thought he should stay. Last Saturday an attack was made on him, and three shots fired at him by a part of the same parties that notified him to leave. These same men who thus assaulted a United States officer profess to belong to the Johnson Union party, and say that they are more loyal than the Doctor, because he is not for the President's policy. In fact, this is the reason of the assault. Unless things change, the name of Andrew Johnson will soon become as great a terror to Union men South as that of Jeff Davis ever was. During the war it was treason against the Confederacy to oppose Jeff. Davis—now it is treason to oppose Andy. This letter may cost me my life, but I will take the risk."

TENNESSEE.

At the recent Loyal Convention at Nashville, Tenn., Andrew J. Fletcher, Secretary of State, said the rebel sentiment was operating in Tennessee by means of vexatious law-suits. A white Union man or a negro had no chance before most of the courts of the State. About twenty-five per cent. of the persons sent to the penitentiary are Union men or freedmen, not because they are guilty; and they invariably are sentenced for the longest term allowed by law. There is not a whit less disloyal sentiment in Tennessee now than there was five years ago. But if rebels had been frowned upon at the White House, Union men would have been at ease in the State.

TEXAS.

The following is from a letter written by a Southern-born Texan to a friend in New York:

"Matters are going from bad to worse in Texas, every day. Crimes of violence, especially against freedmen, are frightfully on the increase. Since 5 p.m. yesterday (and it is now 9 a.m.), four cases of the murder of negroes have been reported to me, and none of them will be mentioned by the press. The rebel press suppress all such facts as far as possible, lest they should delay or prevent readmission; and the few loyal presses in the country are intimidated into comparative silence. * *

"The loyal element here, white and black, is overwhelmed with gloom. The United States officers, civil and military, in Texas are here *on sufferance*, and have not the power to sustain themselves if attacked.

"Indications show that a revolution is imminent. Let there be but a political mob in any of the Northern cities, and there will be an outbreak of armed and rampant treason here, and such a massacre of loyal whites, together with the more intelligent and active of the blacks, as will inaugurate a new Reign of Terror sufficient to make the South a unit.

"The movement toward a new revolution has ripened here faster than was intended, and is beyond the control of those who incited it. I shall not be surprised to learn, on any day after the middle of August (for appearances must be kept until the Philadelphia Convention of August 14th is over), that *Texas is again in armed rebellion*—operating with the pretext of sustaining the President. Indeed, everybody is looking for the trouble ahead, and every loyal man that can is leaving the country."

—A letter to Capt. Bingham—responding to the call for the Convention of Southern Unionists, signed by 21 of the citizens of Dallas county, Texas, contains this:

"We, in Texas, are on the eve of another war, which will be more desperate than the one out of which we have just emerged. The former leaders in rebellion, save some dozen Union men elected to fill unimportant county offices, have all been elected, and they are more hostile and rabid than they were during the war or before the State seceded. Unless Congress furnishes protection, by directing the troops to remain and posting them in the most important towns, there will not be a Union man left in Texas in six months.

"The disloyal from other States are coming in more or less every day, and thousands are returning from Mexico who went off with Price and Shelby, and a more desperate set never before infested any country. Murders are an every-day occurrence. The civil law is defied and trampled upon, the freedmen are held in many parts of the State in as strict bondage as before the war, and Union men dare not speak their sentiments openly.

"Secret societies called the K. G. C., are organized all over the State, and unless the State is held under strict military rule we will have another outbreak in less than six months."

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM.—A colored man entered a church in Columbia, South Carolina, recently, and finding the colored gallery full, took a seat among the white Christians of the place. Of course the reader supposes he was immediately turned out by the usher. No such thing. The reconstructed rebel Christians of South Carolina are not so reconstructed as that yet. But these worshippers of the Prince of Peace had a much more effectual way than that of getting rid of the "nigger." One of the worshippers quietly rose from his knees, breaking off, no doubt, a penitent petition for the gracious favor and tender pity of Him, who is all mercy, upon human sin, softly approached the dark-skinned fellow-sinner, with Christian charity produced a religious revolver from his pocket, cocked it with a Sabbath-day solemnity, aimed devoutly at the woolly head bowed in prayer, and, in a spirit of holy, brotherly love, fired, and scattered the brains of the intruder over the neighboring pews! The ushers carried out the corpse; and, for aught we know, the services proceeded with undiminished serenity, sending up to heaven the sweet incense of worship from humble, loving and devout souls.

Gen. Howard, of the Freedmen's Bureau, being a Puritanic, psalm-singing, New England Christian, does not deem this sort of religious sacrifice precisely the thing; hence, in spite of the constitutional right of all persons (even South Carolina church members) to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences, he has interfered, and ordered a delegation of fanatical Northern army officers to investigate the matter, and arrest the Southern worshippers, or such of them as can be proved guilty, for murder. Unless the President interferes, we expect to shortly hear a bitter howl from Columbia about Yankee interference with religious freedom!—*Philadelphia Press.*

ARKANSAS.—The people of Arkansas decided not to involve themselves in the slaveholders' rebellion. They chose a majority of Unionists to their Convention of 1861. These voted to stay in the Union, and adjourned. After the reduction of Fort Sumter, they were reassembled, and, under the false cry that *Lincoln was waging unprovoked war on the South*, they were goaded into an almost unanimous vote for secession. One man alone—Isaac Murphy—refused to concur. All manner of entreaties and threats were tried on him in vain. He was in imminent danger of instant immolation, but he did not quail. Secession swept over the State, but he remained faithful to the Union. And when at last the rebel power was broken and the State reconstructed—none but loyal men voting—he was unanimously chosen Governor. He is yet serving in that capacity.

Gov. Murphy writes to Washington that President Johnson's policy has ruined the Union cause in Arkansas—that impenitent rebels are now omnipotent there, and will fill all the offices—that the press is unanimously rebel, and would not publish the call for the Southern Loyalists Convention—that, in short, all is lost that was regained by the valor of our Union soldiers. The N. Y. *Times* thinks the Governor utterly mistaken—that Congress, not the President, is responsible for the disaster. Which is likely to be the better judge in the premises, Gov. Murphy or the *Times*?—*Tribune.*

I AM going to speak of a matter which is a trait in the society of the South, and also a reason why they are easily governed. We hear it said every day that they are a high-spirited people, and ought to be conciliated; but this struck me as a distinguishing trait—that having for about twenty years of my life been in the practice of criminal law, I have seen husbands pleading for wives, fathers for children, and children for parents, but I never saw mortal kneel to mortal. Yet when I was in New Orleans, it was an every-day occurrence that women, splendidly dressed in silks and satins, would come into my office and ask for favors on their bended knees. The cause, I suppose, was, that having always been accustomed to exact obedience and have favors asked upon the knees, when the position becomes changed and new masters appeared, they assumed the position they had once taught as proper; and I say, talk not to me that these people cannot be subdued.—*Gen. Butler's speech at Gloucester.*

THE *Tribune* writes, regarding the once adored Secretary of War:

No Copperhead likes him, no Union man trusts him. He has stood by the President warmly—executing his wishes—yielding his opinions to "adverse arguments" on the question of suffrage—and now permits himself to be dragged by Randall and Niblack to a Copperhead Convention. If Mr. Stanton possessed that lusty love of freedom, which we are assured fills his soul, would he be the scribe who countersigns many of the orders that now issue from the War Department.

Miscellaneous Department.

NOT THUS!

Nay, nay—not like the flickering moonbeam may I love thee;
How lovely be its light, a brighter one is thine,—
Nor like the waving grasses of my childhood's rambles;
They cringe to Summer's breath—thou laughest gales to scorn,—
Nor like the wooing shadows of my Lost One's footstep;
Nay, nay—but yet I do not "love thee not at all."

Aye—as the erring meteor glows with love-lit sparkle
To the great Earth, while coursing thwart her airy veil,—
As loves the fragment asteroid yon mightier planet,
Or comet visitor from unkent sphere the Sun,—
As all these love, so love I thee. But *her* thou namest
I love, as man beloves the maiden of his heart.

A FAST STORY.—An Englishman was bragging of the speed on English railroads, to a Yankee traveller seated at his side, in one of the cars of a "fast train" in England. The engine bell was rung as the cars neared a station. It suggested to the Yankee an opportunity of "taking down his companion a peg or two."

"What's that noise?" innocently inquired the Yankee.

"We are approaching a town," said the Englishman; "they have to commence ringing about ten miles before they get to a station, or else the train would run by it before the bell could be heard! Wonderful, isn't it? I suppose they haven't invented bells in America yet?"

"Why, yes," replied the Yankee, "we've got bells, but can't use them on our railroads. We run so fast that the train always keeps ahead of the sound; no use whatever; the sound never reaches the village till after the train gets by."

"Indeed!" exclaimed the Englishman.

"Fact," said the Yankee, "had to give up bells. Then we tried steam-whistles, but they wouldn't answer, either. I was on a locomotive when the whistle was tried. We were going at a tremendous rate; hurricanes were nowhar, and I had to hold my hair on. We saw a two-horse wagon crossing the track, about five miles ahead, and the engineer let the whistle on, screeching like a trooper. It screamed awfully, but it wasn't no use. The next thing I knew, I was picking myself out of a pond by the roadside, amid the fragments of the locomotive, dead horses, broken wagon, and dead engineer lying beside me. Just then the whistle came along, mixed up with some frightful oaths that I had heard the engineer use when he first saw the horses. Poor fellow! he was dead before his voice got to him. After that we tried *lights*, supposing those would travel faster than sound. We got one so powerful that the chickens woke up all along the road when we came by, supposing it to be morning. But the locomotive kept ahead of it still, and was in the darkness with the light close on behind it. The inhabitants petitioned against it; they couldn't sleep with so much light in the night-time. Finally we had to station electric telegraphs along the road, with signal men to telegraph when the train was in sight; and I *have* heard that some of the *fast* trains beat the lightning fifteen minutes every forty miles. But I can't say *as that is true;* the rest I know to be so."

HEINE'S THREE MAIDENS.—I have never troubled myself much with such conversation, and greatly preferred sitting by the maidens in the arched window, and laughed at their laughing, and let them strike me in the face with flowers, and feigned ill nature until they told me their secrets, or some other story of equal importance. Fair Gertrude was half-wild with delight when I sat by her. She was a girl like a flaming rose, and once, as she fell on my neck, I thought she would burn away in perfumes in my arms. Fair Katharine melted in musical sweetness when she talked with me, and her eyes were of that pure, perfect, *internal* blue which I have never seen in animated beings, and very seldom in flowers—one gazed so gladly into them, and could then ever imagine the sweetest things. But the beautiful Hedwiga loved me, for when I came to her she bowed her head till the black locks fell down over the blushing countenance, and the gleaming eyes shone forth like stars from a dark heaven. Her diffident lips spoke not a word, and even I could say nothing to her. I coughed and she trembled. She often begged me through her sisters, not to climb the rocks so eagerly, and not to bathe in the Rhine when I had exercised or drunk wine until I was heated. Once I overheard her pious prayer to the image of the Virgin Mary, which she had adorned with leaf gold and illuminated with a glowing lamp, and which stood in a corner of the sitting-room. She prayed to the Mother of God to keep me from climbing, drinking and bathing! I should certainly have been desperately in love with her had she manifested the least indifference, but I was indifferent because I knew that she loved me. Madame, if any one would win my love, they must treat me *en canaille.*

PERSONAL SKETCHES OF TENNYSON.—A writer, styling himself "Harry Harewood Leach," writes a letter about Tennyson, from which we make the following extracts; "He (Tennyson) is perhaps five feet nine inches in height, but he stoops much as he walks, and thus looks shorter. He does not seem to be above fifty years of age; yet his gait is feeble, and the wearing of glasses adds to the impression of being older. His dress is extremely old-fashioned; indeed he looks more like an old picture stepping out of a frame, than a gentleman of the nineteenth century. His coat, short in the waist, was of a gray mixed color, and fitted him very tight; vest and trousers of the same material. Around his ample shirt collar a black cravat was loosely tied. But nothing could detract from the power of his massive forehead, high and broad, and nothing could be more picturesque than the long black hair, fine as silk (but plentifully mixed with gray), which fell over his fine head down even to his shoulders. His eyes are dark gray, I think, and have the peculiar appearance about the lids common to all students, and especially night readers, which is very clearly perceived and defined by photographs of the poet. His mouth is constantly smiling, but his eyes seem to be absent while he is speaking, searching everywhere for something that is not present—that strange, speculative look that is not easy to convey by description, and must be comprehended rather than clearly defined. His voice is rich and sonorous, but he chooses his words slowly, and, I should think by this, betrays that his composition is equally careful and slow."

MAY RIDE, BUT MUST NOT DRIVE.—Senator Nye says, in his Paterson speech: "I hold that treason taints the whole moral being of a man; that it is as incurable as consumption; that a man that has once had his system infused with treason can never get well. But, they say, would you keep them out always? I answer, by no means. But I will illustrate what I would do by a little incident that occurred in my early life. On a stormy night I was found fifteen miles from home, and the snow falling rapidly. A gentleman came along with a sleigh and asked me to ride. He was an old man. The night was cold. 'Won't you let me drive?' said I; 'I am a pretty good driver.' 'Young man,' said he, 'you may as well learn the first lesson of life now,' and he gave it to me; and it was that an invitation to ride is no license to drive. Now, while I am willing to let these men ride along in this great ark of safety, while I am ready and willing to forget their sins, yet I will engage that loyal men shall make wholesome laws by which they ought to be governed."

ROYAL AUTHORS.—At the present moment, authorship seems to be the fashionable pastime at the courts of Europe. It is tolerably well known that our Queen has been for some time engaged upon a series of compositions—of the essay form, we believe—which are to be published, or, at least, privately printed, when Her Majesty shall deem them sufficiently complete. The Crown Prince of Prussia is engaged upon a history of the Electoral Princes of Brandenburg. The ex-King of Greece (Otho, of Bavaria) is translating the Iliad of Homer; and his father, Louis, ex-King of Bavaria, is at Nice, giving the last touches to a new volume of poems. King John of Saxony has just issued the third and last volume of Dante's "Divina Commedia," translated by himself into German. The literary labors of the Emperor and Empress of the French have been subjects for conversation and criticism for a long time; and only a week ago we mentioned the fact that Omar Pacha is busy writing a "Life of Alexander the Great."—*London Review.*

THE *Avranchin* states that in a commune near Avranches an owl has taken terrible vengeance for the loss of her young, which had been killed by a farmer's lad. For four days the owl was on the watch for the destroyer, and on the fifth, upon the boy leaving the farm-house, the injured bird, which had been perched upon a tree, pounced down upon him, and with one stroke of its claws tore out his left eye, the sight of which is permanently destroyed.

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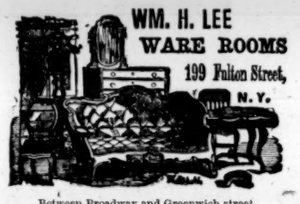

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